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PRESTON, KEITH

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STUDIES IN THE DICTION  
OF SERMO AMATORIOUS

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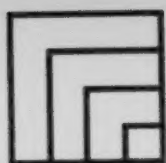
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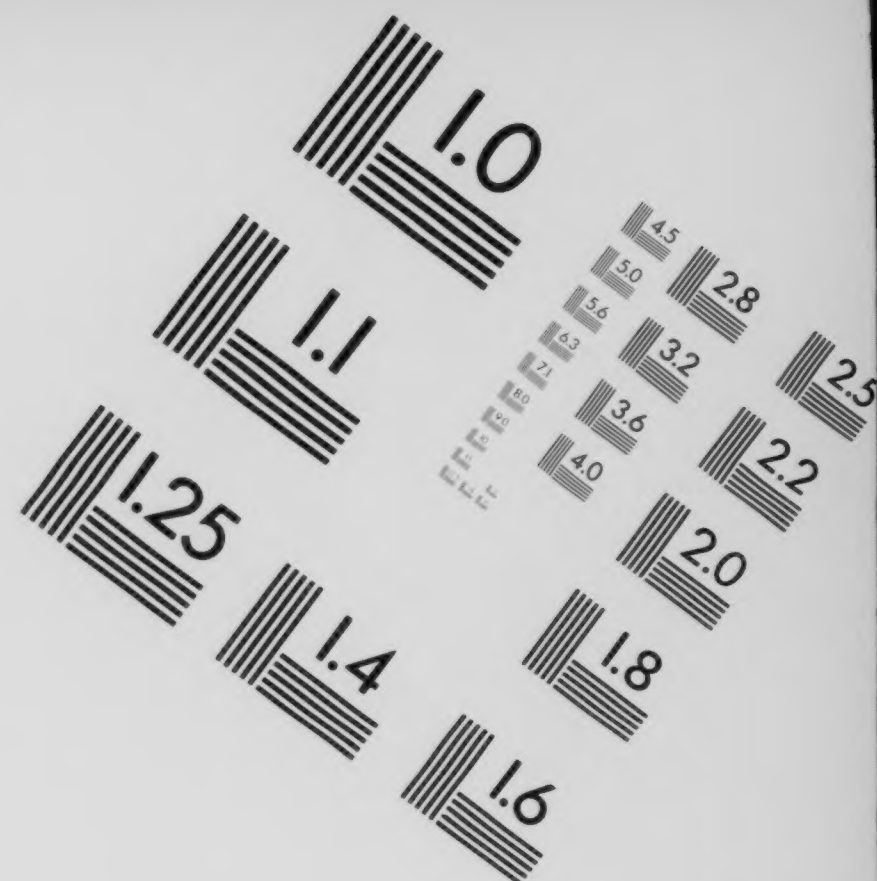
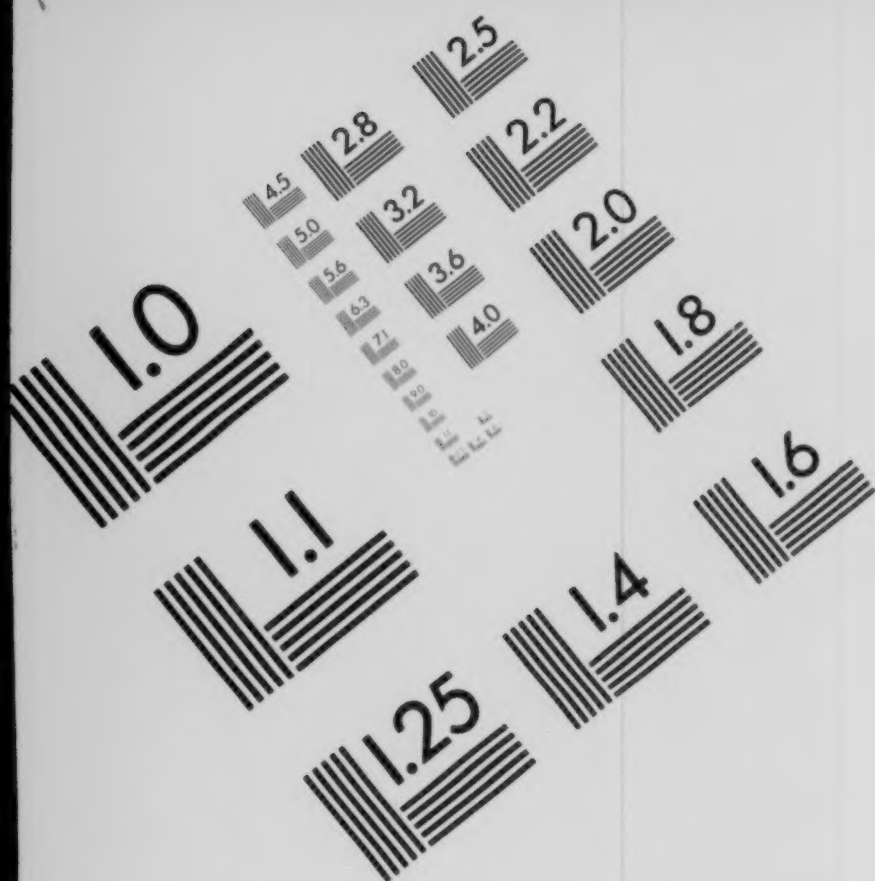


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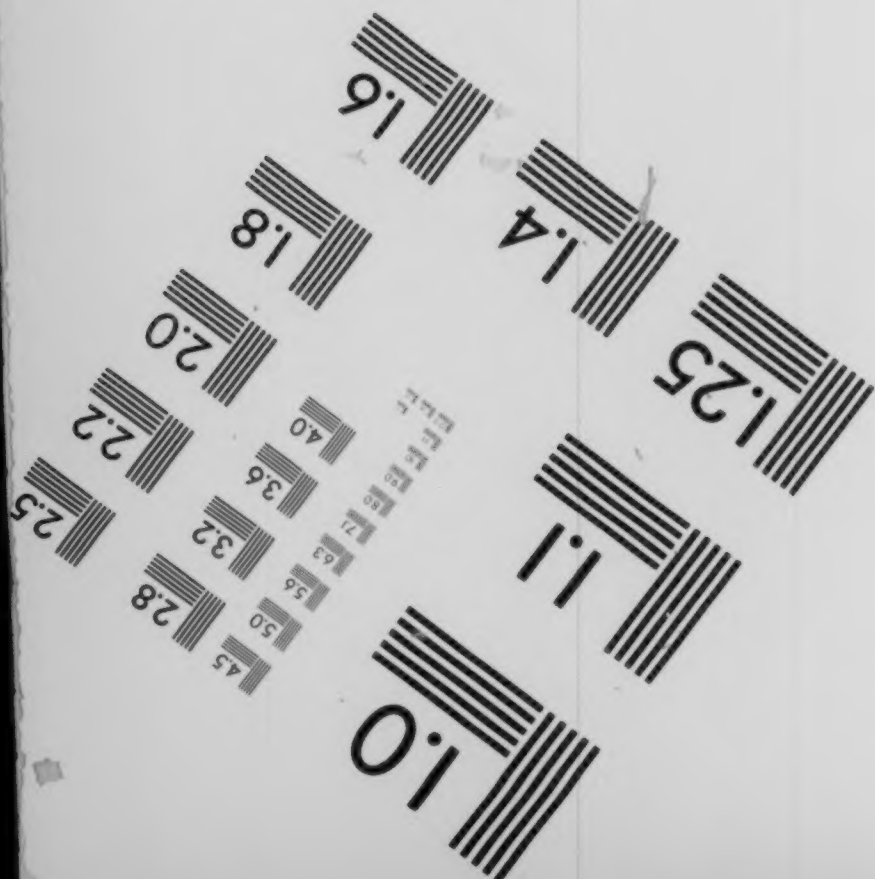
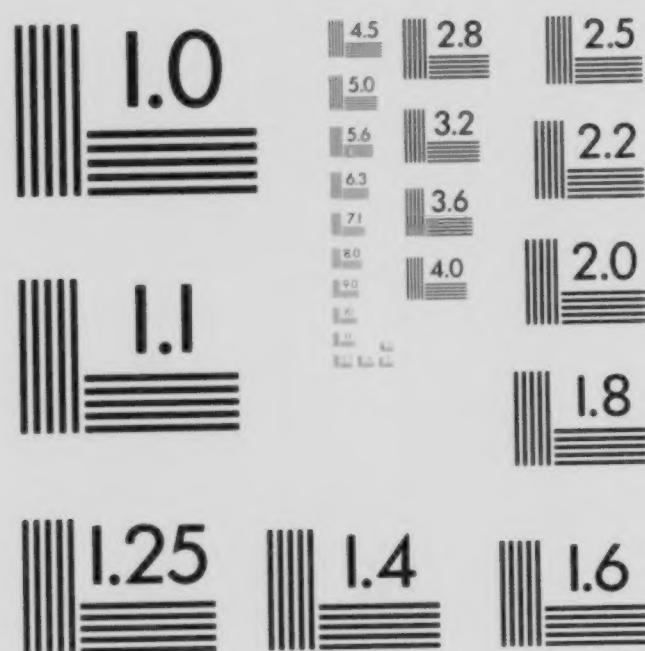
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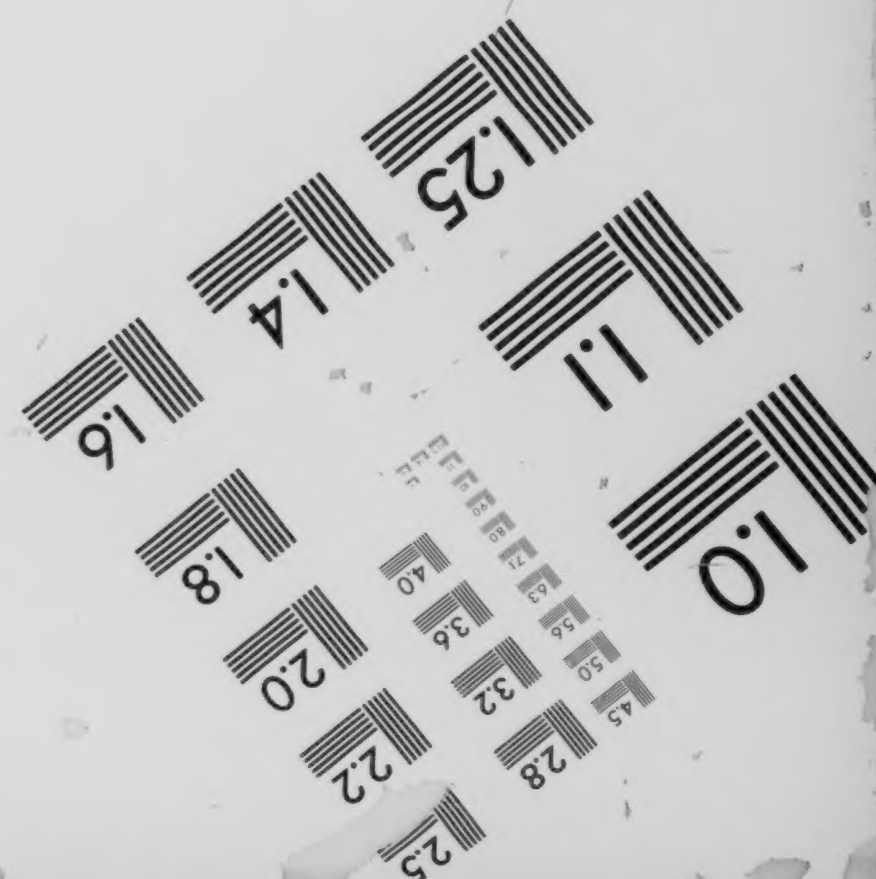
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Studies in the Diction of the  
Sermo Amatorius in  
Roman Comedy

A DISSERTATION  
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND  
LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
(DEPARTMENT OF LATIN)

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BY  
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#### PREFACE

These studies in the *Sermo Amatorius* of Roman Comedy were undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Henry W. Prescott, of the University of Chicago. I am indebted to him for constant aid and criticism at all stages of my work.



## INTRODUCTION

The *sermo amatorius* of Roman Comedy has been by no means neglected by modern scholars, though it has been studied chiefly for what it might contribute to the history of Elegy. Scholars have endeavored to settle the important question as to whether Roman Elegy was an original type by comparing parallels, largely erotic, drawn from the comic fragments, Menander, the Palatine Anthology, Lucian, Alciphron, Philostratus, Aristaenetus, and the *Scriptores Erotici* on the one side, and Roman Comedy and Elegy on the other. It is perhaps open to question whether the main point at issue has been settled decisively, but these studies have at least resulted in clearly demonstrating the Greek sources for most of the erotic material in Plautus, Terence, and the elegiac poets. Most of the more important parallels have been noted, and literary relationships at least partially established.

In my detailed study of erotic diction in Roman Comedy I have, of course, been greatly indebted to previous studies of the sort mentioned above. Among these, Leo, in his many contributions to this subject, has been most suggestive. In addition to the sections in his *Plautinische Forschungen* to which I have so frequently referred, I have found his review of Rothstein's *Propertius* (Gött. G. A., 1898, p. 746) full of hints. The dissertations of Volkmar Hoelzer<sup>1</sup> and Maximilian Heine-  
mann<sup>2</sup> have been particularly helpful.

In the introductory chapters of his erotic lexicon to Ovid, Tibullus, and Propertius, René Pichon has drawn some interesting comparisons between the Greek erotic vocabulary, and the erotic diction of Roman Elegy and Comedy. There seemed to be room for a closer study of the erotic portions of Roman Comedy, such study to be devoted primarily to diction. The existence of a Greek background for Comedy may be taken as proved. My main idea has been to see how far this background might contribute to the closer interpretation of words and phrases in the erotic vocabulary of Plautus and Terence. My first task was to collect the Greek erotic vocabulary from sources already indicated, and determine, so far as possible, what words were technical; I have not confined my Greek parallels entirely to those authors that could be placed in an immediate relation to Comedy, though it has been my aim to do so

<sup>1</sup>*De Poesi Amatoria a Comicis Atticis exulta ab elegiacis imitatione expressa*, Marburg, 1899.

<sup>2</sup>*Epistulae Amatoriae quomodo cohaereant cum Elegiis Alexandrinis*, Strassburg, 1910, Vol. XIV, Fasc. 3 of *Dissertationes Philologicae Argentoratenses*.



to a large extent. The word for word comparison that I have made of the Greek and Latin *sermo* should require no defense in principle, and I have endeavored to use all due caution in its application. In general, I have contented myself with placing side by side what seemed to be similar or equivalent expressions in the Greek or Latin *sermo*, and have allowed the results to speak for themselves. In some cases it may be stated with a fair degree of certainty that a given word or phrase came directly from a Greek original; for a case of this sort cf. *pernoctare* (*παννυχίζειν*) p. 46. More often the Greek may only be said to contribute something in atmosphere or direct interpretation; for example, cf. Leo (Gött. G. A., 1898, p. 740) on Propertius I.1.33 in *me nostra Venus noctes exercet amaras*; Leo compares Aristoph. *Lysis*. 764 and context: ἀργαλέας γ' εὔ οἶδ' ὅτι ἄγονσι νύκτας. The fact that a word is technical in Latin may often be missed without the evidence of the Greek.

In determining Latin usage, I have not stopped with Comedy or Elegy, but have included prose writers, notably Petronius, and other poets as late as Martial. Many words have been discussed solely from the Latin side, where the Greek did not seem to offer significant comparisons.

In the effort to group my material I have adopted certain classifications, which have proved convenient, if not convincingly valid. Part I is devoted to the abstract nouns which figure in the *sermo*, and is largely an interpretation of Mercator 18 sqq. The sections that follow are devoted to different aspects of what I have termed the *sermo meretricius*.

I should perhaps say a word as to omissions and inclusions. In my treatment of particular rubrics I have not hesitated to refer to the Latin Thesaurus, Pichon, or other compilations, for supplementary material, where the word under consideration was there adequately treated. I have omitted altogether many words that had no special interest, or were sufficiently treated in existing lexica or special commentaries. Unfortunately I have not been able to consult all that has been written on the *sermo amatorius*. Among the things that I have been unable to consult are several erotic dictionaries, known to me only by title.<sup>3</sup> From the comment of others who had these works at their disposal I have not been led to believe that my loss was serious.

<sup>3</sup>I have consulted the *Glossarium Eroticum Linguae Latinae* of P. Pierrugues, Berlin, 1908 (2nd edition).

## I

In the body of words composing what we may call the *sermo amatorius* of Roman Comedy, no other group is more interesting than those abstract nouns that have to do with the emotions. The querulous and introspective lover of Comedy has a particular fondness for analyzing his condition, and employs, to this end, a curious diversity of terms. The same situation and the same passion may involve error, *aegritudo*, *cupiditas*, terror, etc. The extreme example of such combinations is the catalogue of vicia that occurs in the Mercator 18 sqq. In this passage the reader is at once impressed by the variety of terms, the apparent remoteness of their application to the passion of love, and the resulting difficulty of exact interpretation. A failure to solve this difficulty, perhaps, in some measure accounts for Leo's contention that the list is, in the main, a mere *farrago* (cf. Leo crit. note ad 1). The passage has been discussed, with particular attention to the grouping of terms, by Prescott (*Classical Philology* IV.11 sq). In this discussion a very suggestive comparison is drawn between the Mercator passage and Cicero *Tusc.* 4.80, where many of the same terms are used in a philosophical context. A certain similarity, in point of diction, is evident, and this resemblance need not be thought of as entirely accidental. The close and somewhat artificial analysis of love that we find in Plautus, and, to some extent, in Terence also, is singular in a Roman comic poet; moreover, not a few of the words employed suggest the vocabulary of philosophy. The same words represent, in Cicero, definite equivalents from the Greek philosophical vocabulary, but so direct a comparison is not possible for Comedy. It does seem likely, on the internal evidence afforded by such resemblances in diction, that Plautus, in the Mercator catalogue, was rendering, with more or less fidelity, his Greek original. We may not assume that the list of vicia, as found in this original, was lifted bodily from philosophical sources. Such lists are, it is true, of frequent occurrence in the philosophers, but the listing of virtues and vices of typical persons is also characteristic of Comedy (cf. Leo *Plaut. Forsch.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 131). It ought to be added that several of the abstracts in this particular list have no exact equivalents in the philosophical categories. To admit these facts is not to destroy the value of the philosophical material. After all necessary exceptions have been made, there remain a number of words that compare very



neatly with stock terms in the Stoic categories; in most cases, also, such a comparison gives to the Latin word a distinctness of meaning that was often lacking before.

The Greek poets of the New Comedy were thoroughly familiar with Hellenistic philosophy<sup>4</sup> and lampooned it with the more success because of this familiarity. Philemon, the author of the *Ἐμπορος*, which served as a model for Plautus' *Mercator*, was a conspicuous example of this tendency. His *Φιλόσοφοι* was directed against the philosophers, and a fragment, 85 K., contains a slighting allusion to the *φιλοσοφία καινή*—*φιλοσοφίαν καινήν γὰρ οὗτος φιλοσοφεῖ· πεινῆν διδάσκει καὶ μαθητὰς λαμβάνει* etc. Other fragments of Philemon, however, show a philosophizing tendency on the part of the poet himself, cf. Philemon 92K. 1-4, 88K. Whatever the real attitude of these poets toward Stoic tenets, it would be strange if their diction were not at times affected by the familiar jargon, even consciously, perhaps, in passages of a mock serious character, like the *Mercator* catalogue.<sup>5</sup> Hence the philosophical material may be supposed to have a distinct value, in such places, to interpret shades of meaning and explain juxtapositions. The pages that follow will be chiefly concerned with the interpretation of *Mercator* 18-31.

Nam amorem haec cuncta vitia sectari solent:

Cura aegritudo nimiaeque elegantia—

Haec non modo illum qui amat, sed quemque attigit 20

Magno atque solido multat infortunio:

Nec pol profecto quisquam sine grandi malo,

Prae quam res patitur studuit elegantiae—

Sed amori accedunt etiam haec quae dixi minus: 25

Insomnia, aerumna, error, (et) terror et fuga,

Ineptia stultitiaque adeo et temeritas(t),

Incogitantia, excors immodestia,

Petulantia et cupiditas, malivolentia:

<sup>6</sup>Inhaeret etiam aviditas, desidia, iniuria,

<sup>4</sup>For fragments alluding to the Stoics cf. Susemihl *Gesch. d. gr. Lit. d. a. Z.* p. 249 n. 10; note particularly Theognetus ap. Athen. III.104 b (Leo *Plaut. Forsch.* p. 130).

<sup>5</sup>Leo has noted certain Stoic echoes in Comedy: cf. *Plaut. Forsch.* p. 130 and note 4 with the citations *Capt.* 271 (cf. *Stich.* 120) *Trin.* 485 sq. Note also Lambinus on *Cist.* 60-1 *doleo ab animo, doleo ab oculis, doleo ab aegritudine. Quid dicam, nisi stultitia mea me in maerorem rapit.* Lamb. "Stoicum est hoc. Nam Stoici aiunt omnem aegritudinem, atque adeo omnem animi morbum ex stultitia, stultaque opinione nasci."

<sup>6</sup>29—inertia L: ineret et iam . . . . residia.

Inopia, contumelia et dispendium,

Multiloquium, parumloquium:

That the *Mercator* catalogue is at least not out of keeping with the manner of Philemon can best be attested by one of the fragments already referred to, 92K.

ἀεὶ τὸ πλουτεῖν συμφορὰς πολλὰς ἔχει

φθόνον τ' ἐπήρειάν τε καὶ μῖσος πολὺ

πράγματά τε πολλὰ κάνοχλήσεις μυρίας

πράξεις τε πολλὰς συλλογὰς τε τοῦ βίου. κτλ.

Aside from the listing tendency, and the introduction of certain abstract nouns that appear in the Stoic categories (*φθόνος, μῖσος*, etc.) this fragment is interesting because of the introductory line *ἀεὶ τὸ πλουτεῖν συμφορὰς πολλὰς ἔχει*, which is certainly not far removed from the introductory formula *Mercator* 18: *nam amorem haec cuncta vitia sectari solent*. I am not inclined to believe that the word *vitia*, *Mercator* 18, represents any technical equivalent in Greek, despite the fact that it is technical in Cicero.<sup>7</sup> *Vitia* is a natural Latin equivalent for any term representing unfavorable consequences. Propertius calls love a *vitium* II.1.65 *hoc si quis vitium poterit mihi demere*, etc., where the word is equivalent to *morbus* (*νόσημα*), cf. Rothstein ad l.; *vitium* is a failing or defect Prop. II.22.17, and a blemish or stain, apparently, Prop. III.17.5 *per te iunguntur, per te solvuntur amantes, tu vitium ex animo dilue*, cf. *amoris macula* Plaut. *Poen.* 198. The only other list of *vitia* or concomitants of love is found *Eunuchus* 59 sq. in *amore haec omnia insunt vitia: iniuriae, suspiciones, inimicitiae, indutiae, bellum, pax rursum*. If we were to look for a philosophical parallel *ἀμαρτία* would perhaps be nearest to the sense, cf. V. Arnim o. c. 468, Plutarch de virtute morali cp. 10 p. 449 d *πᾶν μὲν γὰρ πάθος ἀμαρτία κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐστὶ καὶ πᾶς ὁ λυπούμενος ἢ φοβούμενος ἢ ἐπιθυμῶν ἀμαρτάνει* but a neutral expression such as *συμφοραί*, for example, is more likely in *Mercator* 18 and *Eunuch.* 59. Comparisons are much more suggestive in connection with the particular *vitia* that follow; for convenience, I shall examine these in approximately the order of occurrence.

*Aegritudo* (*Mercator* 19) is used in Cicero to render the Stoic *λύπη* Cic. fin. III.35 (= V. Arnim III.381) *omnes eae (perturbationes) sunt*

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Cicero *Tusc.* IV.30 (V. Arnim *Frag. Stoic.* III.425) *vitia enim adfectiones sunt manentes, perturbationes autem moventes. Also Tusc. IV.10. (V. Arnim 424) ex perturbationibus autem primum morbi conficiuntur quae vocant illi νοσήματα eaque quae sunt eis morbis contraria, quae habent ad res certas vitiosam offensionem atque fastidium, deinde aegrotationes, quae appellantur a Stoicis ἀρρωστήματα.*



genere quattuor . . . . . aegritudo, formido, libido, quamque Stoici . . . . . ἡδονήν appellant; cf. also Melcher Chrysippus' Lehre von den Affekten p. 23 sq. This fourfold division of the emotions is Stoic, cf. Zeno ap. Diog. Laër. VII.110 (=V. Arnim I.211) φησιν . . . . . Ζήνων ἐν τῷ περὶ παθῶν εἶναι γένη τέτταρα, λύπην, φόβον, ἐπιθυμίαν, ἡδονήν, Aristo=V. Arnim I.370 (Clemens Alex. Stromat. II.20 p. 195 Sylb., Vol. I.p. 486 Pott.) ὅθεν, ὡς ἔλεγεν Ἀρίστων, πρὸς ὅλον τὸ τετράχορδον, ἡδονήν λύπην φόβον ἐπιθυμίαν κτλ. For Chrysippus material cf. V. Arnim III.377-420. The general terms aegritudo (λύπη) formido (φόβος) are used to include a variety of emotions which are further listed and defined<sup>8</sup> in a somewhat arbitrary manner.<sup>9</sup> This Stoic tendency to subdivide and classify and collect more or less related terms in lists and catalogues may partly account for a like tendency in Comedy.

Aegritudo in Cicero is not ordinarily coupled with words which it properly includes. It may be used in the generalizing plural to indicate the several varieties of aegritudo: Tusc. I.80 aegritudines irae libidines. The antithesis between aegritudo (λύπη) and gaudium, laetitia (ἡδονή) is sharply drawn fin. I.57 tum fit ut aegritudo sequatur si illa mala sint, laetitia si bona, fin. I.56 non placet detracta voluptate . . . . . aegritudinem statim consequi.

The word aegritudo was particularly well adapted to rendering the Stoic λύπη, as involving the idea of disease, and as applicable both to mind and body. The comparison between diseases of the mind and body was emphasized by Chrysippus<sup>10</sup>: Cicero Tusc. IV.10.23 (V. Arnim III.424). The glosses also emphasize this same idea, cf. Corpus Gloss. II.245. 58, II.247.29, II.377.3, III.600.42. The word was used in medicine as a term for insanity: Plin. N. H. 7.171 iam signa letalia: in furoris morbo risum, sapientiae vero aegritudine fimbriarum curam, etc. Aegritudo in the mind corresponds to aegrotatio in the body: Cicero Tusc. III.23 doloris origo . . . . . explicanda est, id est causa efficiens

<sup>8</sup>V. Arnim III.415 (=Cicero Tusc. IV.17.18) angor aegritudo premens . . . . . aerumna aegritudo laboriosa, etc., V. Arnim III.413 (Stobaeus ecl. II.92), V. Arnim III.412 (Diog. Laer. VII.110.111). These lists compared, and common elements noted, Zeller, Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihres geschichtlichen Entwicklung 1865 (2nd ed.) III.p. 213, n. 3. Cf. also Melcher o. c. pp. 23-27, V. Arnim III.394-420.

<sup>9</sup>Zeller o. c. III p. 213. Die vier Hauptklassen der Affekte wurden dann weiter in zahlreiche Unterarten geteilt bei deren Aufzählung sich aber unser Philosophen mehr von dem Sprachgebrauch als von psychologischen Erwägungen leiten lassen.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. also Pohlenz "Das Dritte und Vierte Buch der Tusculanen" Hermes 41, p. 336. Melcher o. c. p. 18. In general also Von Arnim III.421.430.

aegritudinem in animo tamquam aegrotationem in corpore. The same reason apparently dictates the preference for aegritudo in Comedy, where the conception of love as a disease<sup>11</sup> is exceedingly common and seems to go beyond mere metaphor. The lover's mind is ailing: Ter. And. 559 animus aegrotus, ibid. 309. The loved one is the only physician: Cist. 74 si medicus veniat qui huic morbo facere medicinam<sup>12</sup> potest.

As used in Comedy, aegritudo, the general term, includes a variety of painful emotions which range from grief or vexation to anxiety or painful anticipation. For the former meaning cf. Adelphoe 312 ut ego hanc iram . . . evomam omnem, dum aegritudo haec est recens; Curc. 223-5 si recte facias, Phaedrome, auscultes mihi atque istam exturbes ex animo aegritudinem. paves, parasitus quia non rediit; here for aegritudo one might substitute cura (φροντίς), properly a subhead of aegritudo (for the various subheads of aegritudo [λύπη] cf. particularly Von Arnim III.414, 415). But nice philosophical distinctions<sup>13</sup> are naturally not observed in Comedy. Thus aegritudo is occasionally coupled with what are properly subheads under the main term: cf. Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, I.952.60 sq., Lodge, s. v. So with maeror Stich. 215, cura Merc. 19 cura aegritudo. Such synonyms as dolor miseria, etc., frequently replace the main term. Similarly, in Greek poetry, there is no perceptible difference in value between λύπη Diphilus 88K., Eur. Orest. 398, and ἄλγος A. P. V.289, 297 and ὀδύνη A. P. V.106, XII.49. But the generalizing plural serves as an occasional reminder that aegritudo is the general and all inclusive word: cf. Ter. Haut. 539, Plaut. Stich. 526.

The contrast between voluptas, gaudium (ἡδονή) and aegritudo (λύπη) so much emphasized by the Stoics, and in Cicero, is reproduced in Comedy. Each state is thought of as excluding the other; they may not, therefore, be combined in a person at any single time: Merc. 359 ubi voluptatem aegritudo vincat, quid ibi inest amoeni, Ter. Eunuchus 552 ne hoc gaudium contaminet vita aegritudine aliqua, Haut. 679-80

<sup>11</sup>Aegritudo is used of other emotional weaknesses than love. Trin. 1091 adimit animam mihi aegritudo, Men. prol. 35 eaque is aegritudine paucis diebus post Tarenti emortuost, Merc. 140, Phorm. 750, Cist. 60.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. A. P. V.116 οἶδα διδάξαι φάρμακον ᾧ παύσεις τὴν δυσέρωτα νόσον, A. P. V.130 λύπης φάρμακ' ἐπιστάμεθα, Longus I.22 τῆς ἐρωτικῆς λύπης φάρμακον.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. Cicero Tusc. III.83 sed ratio una omnium est aegritudinum plura nomina. Nam et invidere aegritudinis est et aemulare et obtrectare et misereri et angi, lugere, maerere, aerumna adfici, lamentari, sollicitari, dolere, in molestia esse, adfictari, desperare, 84 haec omnia definiunt Stoici eaque verba quae dixi, singularum rerum sunt, non, ut videntur, easdem res significant, sed aliquid differunt.



res nulla mihi posthac . . . . . tanta quae mi aegritudinem adferat: tanta haec laetitia obortast, And. 961, Haut. 506.

Aegritudo and its various subheads have a particular affinity for cura: Merc. 162 cruciatum curam, ibid. 19 cura aegritudo, ibid. 870 cura, miseria, aegritudo, Pseud. 21 miseria et cura. The distinction between the two words is fairly well brought out: Truc. 455 quantast cura in animo quantum corde capio dolorem. Ciceronian usage corresponds (cf. T. L. L. s. v.). In Tusc. IV.18 sollicitudo (=cura) is defined as aegritudo cum cogitatione. Cicero combines cura with dolor (5 times), angor (2), molestia (1), and with sollicitudo (3), as in Ter. Phorm. 441. The Greek equivalent, *φροντίς*, of cura, sollicitudo belonged to the Stoic categories, and was there regarded as a variety of *λύπη*: cf. Andronicus *περί παθῶν* 2 (p. 12 Kreuttner) (V. Arnim III.414) *φροντίς δὲ λογισμὸς λυπουμένου*. *Φροντίς* and *μέριμνα* are frequently combined with *λύπαι*; cf. Diph. fr. 88K. *λύπας μερίμνας ἀρπαγὰς*, Antipho Tetr. I. 2.2 *λύπας καὶ φροντίδας προσβέβληκεν*; cf. Isocr. 408 E, and again Apollod. 3 K. *τοῖς μεριμνῶσιν τε καὶ λυπουμένοις*. The painful character of *φροντίς* is emphasized also in Aesch. Pers. 161 *καὶ με καρδίαν ἀμύσσει φροντίς*, A. P. V.5 *χαλεπαὶ τείρουσι μέριμναι*. Compare such phrases as *curae exanimales* (Rudens 221), though this is not the erotic cura.

Somewhat similar to the conception of love as a disease (aegritudo) of the mind is the idea that love is an aberration (insania). According to Stoic ideas, the emotions were of necessity irrational; the sapiens was necessarily free from all harmful emotions, and all men but the sapiens were mad: Diog. Laer. VIII.124 (V. Arnim 664) *πάντας τε τοὺς ἀφρονας μαίνεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι φρονίμους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἴσην τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ μανίαν πάντα πράττειν*; cf. also V. Arnim 657-676. The Stoic categories include under *ἐπιθυμία* (V. Arnim III.394=Stobae. ecl. II.90. 7 W.) *ἔρωτες σφοδροὶ, πόθοι, ἔμεροι*. In *ἔρωτες σφοδροὶ* is implied the distinction between a virtuous, rational love, such as became the sapiens, and the technical *ἔρωτομανία*, an excessive or vicious passion. This distinction is amplified elsewhere: cf. V. Arnim III.717 (Stobae. ecl. II.65. 15 W.) *τὸν δὲ ἐρωτικὸν καὶ διχῇ λέγεσθαι, τὸν μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ποιοῦν σπουδαῖον ὄντα, τὸν δὲ κατὰ τὴν κακίαν ἐν ψόγῳ. ὥς ἂν ἐρωτομανῇ τινα*. "Ερως as a *φιλία κατὰ πάθος* (Aristotle Nicom. Eth. 8.3) is defined by Andronicus (V. Arnim III.397) as *ἐπιθυμία σωματικῆς συνουσίας* but this may not be a Stoic definition (Pohlenz, Hermes 41 p. 350, n. 5) The whole conception of a rational and an irrational love is somewhat confused: in general cf. V. Arnim III.716.722, Pohlenz p. 349-50, Melcher p. 40. The general idea may, however, be reflected in Mercator

262-3 *quam ego postquam aspexi, non ita amo ut sanei solent homines, sed eodem pacto ut insanei solent*. In numerous other passages we have love as an aberration, cf. Merc. 325.443.446, Curc. 187, Ter. And. 692, Haut. 257. Certain other words should perhaps be mentioned in this context. Folly and madness were synonyms according to the Stoics: Cicero Tusc. IV.54 (V. Arnim 665) *Stoici qui omnes insipientes insanos esse dicunt*. So, in the Mercator catalogue such expressions as *ineptia, stultitia*, etc., may well be grouped as varieties of *ἔρωτομανία*.<sup>14</sup>

Somewhat similar to *ἔρωμανία* (insania) is terror (Merc. 25) as a vitium amoris. The natural equivalent of *φόβος* in the Stoic categories is metus, formido: Cicero Tusc. IV.7.14 (V. Arnim III.393). Among the varieties of metus Cicero lists terror, defining it, Tusc. IV.19 (V. Arnim III.410) as *metum concutientem, ex quo fit ut pudorem rubor, terrorem pallor et tremor et dentium crepitus consequatur*. This is not a translation of any existing Stoic definition, but the phenomena listed suggest an identification with *ἐκπληξίς* defined Diog. Laer. VII. 112 (V. Arnim III.407) as *φόβος ἐκ φαντασίας ἀσυνήθους πράγματος*; cf. also V. Arnim III.408, 409.<sup>15</sup> "Εκπληξίς occurs elsewhere in erotic contexts: cf. Ach. Tat. I.4 *πάντα δὲ μ' εἶχον ὁμοῦ ἔπαινος, ἐκπληξίς, τρόμος, αἰδώς*. The general term *φόβος* is not unknown in such connections: Aristaen. II.5 *θεωροῦσα τὸν καλὸν αἰδοῦμαι, φοβοῦμαι, ὑφ' ἡδονῆς πνευστιῶ*.<sup>16</sup> An erotic idea in *φόβος* is justified also by certain combinations in Plato: cf. Philebus 50 B *ὀργὴν μὴν καὶ πόθον καὶ θρῆνον καὶ φόβον καὶ ἔρωτα*, Rep. 579 B *πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν φόβων καὶ ἐρώτων μεστός*, Phil. 50 C *τὴν γ' ἐν τοῖς φόβοις καὶ ἔρωσι . . . κρᾶσιν*. Outside of the Mercator catalogue, where terror is grouped with other terms that have technical force, the words for fear do not seem to be technical in Roman Comedy, although they are frequently found in erotic passages: cf. Miles 1233,

<sup>14</sup>This idea was a commonplace in later Greek poetry: A. P. V.267 *οὐ φιλέεις . . . πῶς δύναται γὰρ ψυχὴ ἐρωμανέειν ὁρθὰ λογιζομένη*. A. P. XII.117 *τί δ' ἐρωτι λογισμός*. Cf. Ter. Eunuchus 61 sq. *incerta haec (amoris) si tu postules ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas, quam si des operam ut cum ratione insanias*, Men. 59K. *φύσει γὰρ ἐστ' ἔρως τοῦ νοητοῦντος κωφόν* to which Ribbeck compares Afranius 348 *amentes, quibus animi non sunt integri, surde audiunt*. Cf. also A. P. V.89, V.132, V.272 (*λυσσώων*), V.47, 220, 225, 267. The *ἔρωτομανία* of Greek epigram is of course the furor of Latin elegy. Pichon p. 157.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Tischer-Sorof on Cicero Tusc. IV.19, where this identification is made, with a reference to the Diogenes passage, and also to Stob. ecl. II.7. Cf. also Melcher o. c. p. 25.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Nemesius de nat. hom. 19-21 (V. Arnim III.416) *Διαιρείται δὲ καὶ φόβος εἰς ἕξις, εἰς ὄκνον, εἰς αἰδῶ, εἰς αἰσχύνην, εἰς κατάπληξιν, εἰς ἀγωνίαν, εἰς ἐκπληξιν . . . αἰδῶς δὲ φόβος ἐπὶ προσδοκίᾳ ψόγου*.



1272, 996a; in such cases various specific causes for fear are mentioned, and metus, timor, etc., have no consistent technical meaning in themselves.

In Mercator 25 we find the grouping error terror fuga. As Prescott suggests, error and terror fall naturally together as similar perturbations. The same combination occurs (though not in an erotic context), Rudens 215 algor error pavor me omnia tenent, and in Ovid Amor. I.10.9. We may point also to the use of *πλάνη*: Plato Phaed. 81 A *πλάνης καὶ ἀνοίας καὶ φόβων καὶ ἀγρίων ἐρώτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀπηλλαγμένη*. The grouping here might seem to suggest an erotic connection for *πλάνη* if it did not appear from other passages (cf. p. 9) that the combination *φόβων καὶ ἐρώτων* was the significant one; *πλάνη* = error (Corp. Gloss. II.408. 38) is not technical, as appears, in the Greek sermo amatorius. As used in Comedy, cf. Merc. 347, Amph. 470, and in Cicero, who reflects the Greek distinctly (cf. Cicero ph. fr. 9.8 error et ignorantia veri, Plato Phaedo 81 A *πλάνη καὶ ἀνοία*) error retains its original idea of uncertainty or confusion. Starting with this idea error becomes technical in the later sermo amatorius, where it seems to be practically a synonym for insania, or furor: cf. Vergil Ecl. VIII.41 Ut vidi, ut perii! ut me malus abstulit error (Theocr. Id. II.82 *χῶς ἴδον, ὡς ἐμάνην, ὡς μεν πέρι θυμὸς ἰάφθη*). The comment of Servius "amor enim errare plerumque compellit" shows a desire to connect this usage with the ordinary idea. Cf. also the Ovidian use of error: Amores I.2.35 Blanditiae comites tibi erunt Errorque Furorque. Error, as a delusion, may also have been written by Ovid Met. X.342 retinet malus error<sup>17</sup> amantem ut praesens spectem Cinyram. Cf. also Met. III.431, where the idea of an optical illusion is more prominent.<sup>18</sup>

The third member, fuga, of the triad in Mercator 25, is of course natural after terror. It may be explained, as has been done, by reference to the plot of the play: cf. 644 certumst exsulatum hinc ire me, also 652 where the word fuga is used. Flight on the part of the lover, for one reason or another, is a common motif in Comedy: cf. Asin. 591 sq., Haut. 118, Eunuch. 216. Fuga is more probably purely formal in this context

<sup>17</sup>"Ardor" Ehwald, without comment, and so also most of the older editors. There is some MSS authority for error, however, cf. Jahn 1832 crit. note, Bach 1836, who reads ardor, remarking: "beides (error, ardor) oft verwechselt s. Heins. zu Amor. I.10.9. Wohl bezeichnet auch error heftige Liebe insofern als Leidenschaft ein Zustande des Wahns, der insania, ist Ovid Amor. I.10.9, Prop. I.13.28, Verg. Ecl. VIII.41." Magnus (1914) rejects error.

<sup>18</sup>In Ovid error is used occasionally of a moral fault, a sense not found in Plautus, cf. Trabea 6 Rib. ego voluptatem animi nimium summum esse errorem arbitror.

and practically equivalent to terror, cf. Andronicus *περὶ παθῶν* 1 (p. 11 Kreuttner) = V. Arnim 391, *φόβος δὲ ἄλογος ἔκκλις ἢ φυγὴ ἀπὸ προσδοκουμένου δεινοῦ*.

An exceedingly common word in erotic contexts in Plautus is aerumna, which is used objectively, where aegritudo is subjective. The idea of labor is inherent in the word: Paul. Fest 24 itaque (i. e. "ab aerumnulis quibus sarcinae portabantur") aerumnae labores onerosos significant; sive a Graeco sermone deducuntur; nam *αἴρειν* graece latine tollere dicitur (cf. also other etymologies: Char. gramm. I.98.12, Albin. gramm. VII. 297.8, T. L. L. s. v.). Plautus uses aerumna of the trials or hardships of the lover, who is compared to Hercules: Persa 1-2 qui amans egens ingressus est princeps in amoris vias superavit aerumnis suis aerumnas Herculi, Epid. 179 neque sexta aerumna acerbior Herculi, quam illa mihi obiectast. In Cicero aerumna is defined Tusc. IV.18 (V. Arnim 415) as aegritudo laboriosa. This may perhaps be intended as an equivalent for *ἄχθος*<sup>19</sup> in the Stoic categories, which is defined, Diog. Laer. VII.111, Stob. ecl. II.92.7 W. (V. Arnim 412, 413) as *λύπη βαρύνουσα* (cf. also V. Arnim 414, 416, etc.). In this connection note Lucr. IV.1069 furor atque aerumna *gravescit* (cf. *βαρύνουσα*). The distinction between cura and aerumna appears neatly in a fragment of Pacuvius trag. 276 lapit cor cura, aerumna corpus conficit. This idea of physical distress is regularly preserved in Comedy: cf. Capt. 195 sq. si di immortales id voluerunt vos hanc aerumnam exsequi, decet id pati aequo animo: si id facietis, levior labos erit, Capt. 1009, Miles 33, Rudens 257, Ter. Hec. 288, Trin. 839. Occasionally aerumna or the synonym, labor, mean simply distress of mind, aegritudo (cura), so Casina 415 cor de labore pectus tundit, Capt. 929, Curc. 142.<sup>20</sup>

The combination insomnia aerumna occurs in Mercator 25. The association is one of sense as well as sound. Sleeplessness is one of the commonest privations of the lover, and the phrase labores et vigiliae is too familiar to require examples. Insomnia is mentioned, apparently as a vitium amoris, Caec. Stat. 168 Rib. consequitur comes insomnia, ea porro insaniam affert, cf. also Pacuvius 9, Servius on Aeneid IV.9. So also, in Greek erotic writers, *ἀγρυπνία* is a familiar symptom or effect of love. Specific and technical force is indicated by such a phrase as Ach. Tat. I.7 *ἐρωτικὴν ἀγρυπνίαν*; cf. also A. P. V.5 *σέ δ' ἄγρυπνον χαλε-*

<sup>19</sup>Cf., however, Tischer—Sorof on Cicero Tusc. IV.18: aerumna = *ὁδύνη λύπη ἐπίπονος*, angor = *ἄχθος λύπη βαρύνουσα*.

<sup>20</sup>*πόνος* (*ἄχθος, μόχθος, ὁδύνη*) are frequent in erotic contexts: Aristoph. Eccl. 972 *διὰ τοί σε πόνους ἔχω*, A. P. V. 162 *ὁ πόνος δέεται εἰς ὄνυχα*, A. P. V. 75, V.297.



παὶ τείρουσι μέριμναι, A. P. V.197 φιλάγρυπνον λύχρον, *ibid.* V.166 ἀγρυπνον πόθον, A. P. V.201 ἀγρυπνῶ in erotic sense. Compare also Hoelzer o. c., p. 48. This commonplace is reflected in the Latin elegiac poets much more than in Comedy: cf. Pichon s. v. vigilare.

Here I wish to turn directly to Mercator 28 sq. and discuss in some detail the grouping in lines 28-30. Before doing so I will quote a passage from Epictetus which shows possible combinations in such lists, and bears a striking resemblance (accidental, of course) to the list in question. Epict. II.16.45 ἐκ τῆς διανοίας ἐκβαλε ἀντὶ Προκρούστου καὶ Σκίρωνος λύπην, φόβον, ἐπιθυμίαν, φθόνον, ἐπιχαιρεκακίαν, φιλαργυρίαν, μαλακίαν, ἀκрасίαν. Both λύπη and a form of φόβος (ἐκπληξίς) have already been paralleled in our Mercator passage. Petulantia and cupiditas in line 28 may loosely cover Greek ἐπιθυμία. The bearing of petulantia has been sufficiently indicated by Prescott. Cupiditas seems to be similar to cupido and lubido in Comedy. Lubido, like ἐπιθυμία, is distinctly erotic. Cf. Ter. And. 308 quo magis lubido frustra incendatur tua, and Haut. 367 ut illius animum cupidum inopia incenderet, Alciphron I.35 ἀπερρίπισε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, Ach. Tat. I.5 ὑπέκκαυμα ἐπιθυμίας, etc. For lubido=ἐπιθυμία in Stoic lists, cf. Cicero Tusc. IV.7.14 (V. Arnim III.393) lubido opinio venturi boni, Andronicus περὶ παθῶν 1 (V. Arnim III.391) ἐπιθυμία δὲ ἄλογος ὀρεξις ἢ δίωξις προσδοκωμένου ἀγαθοῦ. Cupiditas is followed in the Mercator list by malevolentia=invidia, according to Prescott; cf. the combination ἐπιθυμίαν, φθόνον, ἐπιχαιρεκακίαν<sup>21</sup> in Epictetus. I hardly see the necessity for giving aviditas the same erotic meaning as cupiditas (cf. Prescott). It would seem rather to be an equivalent of the φιλαργυρία which is so common in Stoic discussions,<sup>22</sup> as, for example, here in Epictetus. This is a common meaning for aviditas<sup>23</sup> cf. T. L. L. II.1422.67, 1423.3, Corpus Gloss. II.471. 24. The idea fits the context, since in lines 52 sq. we have the father complaining of his son's rapacity, and the combination aviditas desidia (if the text be correct) is an extremely natural one, cf. Epict. φιλαργυρίαν μαλακίαν ἀκрасίαν. Rapacity and extravagance are often combined; so we may properly compare Plato Rep. 564 B τῶν ἀργῶν τε καὶ δαπανηρῶν ἀνδρῶν γένος. Desidia is frequent in Plautus, always in the sense of a vicious or wasteful idleness.

<sup>21</sup>Cf. V. Arnim 394 (end), 412, 414, 415, 418. Also Tischer-Sorof on Cicero Tusc. IV.17 "malevolentia griech. ἐπιχαιρεκακία."

<sup>22</sup>Cf. Andronicus περὶ παθῶν 4 (p. 16 Kreuttner)=V. Arnim 397 φιλοχρηματία δὲ ἐπιθυμία [ἀχρηστος ἢ] ἄμετρος χρημάτων.

<sup>23</sup>Festus defines aviditas as cupiditas (p. 14.9), but aviditas=cupiditas is rare. Cf. however, Pliny N. H. 20.277, 23.144 (T. L. L. II.1423. 24-27).

Ἀργία, μαλακία, τρυφή, ῥαστώνη, ῥαθυμία, ἀπονία, are similarly used in Greek; of these, the first three are more frequent in erotic connections. In addition to the passages cited by Prescott for ἀργία versus ἔρως (Eur. frag. 324 N. "Ἐρως γὰρ ἀργὸν καπὶ τοῖς ἀργοῖς ἔφν. Stob. Flor. 64, 29 Θεόφραστος ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστὶν ἔρως πάθος ἔφη ψυχῆς σχολαζούσης) note the familiar passage from Xen. Anab. III.2.25 ἀν' ἅπαξ μάθωμεν ἀργοὶ ζῆν καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλας γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὀμιλεῖν. Cf. also Plato Rep. 572 E ἔρωτά τινα . . . προστάτην τῶν ἀργῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτοιμα διανεμομένων ἐπιθυμιῶν, Eur. Hipp. 380 sq., Xen. Oec. I.19.<sup>24</sup>

In the case of the words that follow desidia, i. e., iniuria inopia contumelia, the difficulties of interpretation increase, and we are obliged to rely entirely, or nearly so, on Latin usage. Iniuria and contumelia are, as Leo says, (cf. also Prescott p. 20) generally coupled in Latin.<sup>25</sup> In ordinary usage contumelia seems to be stronger than iniuria (cf. Nonius 430.15), only in the sense of adding insult to injury. Iniuria is the more general term, and may range from unfaithfulness, in the sermo amatorius, to undutiful conduct on the part of a son towards his father. The words are often practically synonymous (always remembering the special idea of insult in contumelia); so, in the passages cited above, Ter. Hec. 165, Haut. 566. In the sermo amatorius, contumelia is used particularly of the indignities inflicted by the meretrix upon the amator (Eun. 48). The meaning that I am inclined to press for contumelia in this passage is that of convicium, as in the phrase contumeliam dicere and elsewhere: cf. Curc. 478, Pseud. 1173, Truc. 299, Ter. Phorm. 376, Menaech. 520, Afr. com. 374 Rib. It seems to me that lines 43-55 of the Mercator prologue are intended as a loose running commentary on the latter portion of the catalogue, and serve to show at least what these words meant to the author of lines 43-55. In this way iniuria (29) would refer to the outrageous conduct of the son: cf. 54 intemperantem, non modestum, iniurium<sup>26</sup> trahere exhaustire me quod quirem ab se domo. Contumelia, then would refer to the criticism which such conduct provokes particularly, perhaps, from the father (cf. lines 46-60). Dis-

<sup>24</sup>Greek σχολή, like Latin otium, is generally favorable or neutral in meaning. It is occasionally an equivalent of ἀργία, τρυφή, etc., Soph. frag. 288 τίκτει γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐσθλὸν εἰκαία σχολή, Eur. Hipp. 384 σχολή τερπνὸν κακόν.

<sup>25</sup>In addition to the passage from Pacuvius (279, 80) patior facile iniuriam, si est vacua a contumelia, and the comment of Nonius (430, 15) iniuria enim levior res est, we have the combination Ter. Hec. 165, Haut. 566, Cicero inv. 1. 105 and elsewhere.

<sup>26</sup>Servius in Aen. IX.107 hinc est apud comicos iniurius qui audet aliquid extra ordinem iuris.



pendium is repeated from the prologue 53 *amorem multos inlexe in dispendium*, with a generalizing tone which is in itself significant. *Inopia*<sup>27</sup> as used in *Mercator* 30 can bear no other meaning, if the foregoing ideas be accepted, than that of lack of funds, *inopia argenti*. Cf. *Caec. Stat.* 199 Rib. in *amore suave est summo summaque inopia*, etc., *Plaut. Pseud.* 300 *ita miser et amore pereio et inopia argentaria*, *Men. mon.* 156 *ἔρωτα παύει λιμός ἢ χαλκοῦ σπάνις*. Accepting these meanings, I should assert that the grouping *aviditas*, *desidia*, *iniuria*, was quite logical; in line 54 the adjective *iniurium* sums up, as a more general term, the specific charges contained in *intemperantem* and *non modestum*; so with *iniuria* in its triad. The combination *inopia contumelia dispendium* is not quite so convincing; the suggestion made for *contumelia* does, however, make it distinct in meaning and separable from *iniuria*, thus accounting, to some extent, for the arrangement.

In the foregoing discussion, I have endeavored to present what seems to me strong evidence for a Greek original for this passage, and to explain and interpret those words and groupings that seem to reflect this original. It is quite clear that the Latin author handled this passage with some degree of freedom, and indeed, if that author was *Plautus*, we should not expect slavish imitation. The fact that these lines are not a "mere farrago" appears evident; if it be granted also that they show distinct traces of the Greek of *Philemon*, the probabilities will be all in favor of *Plautine* authorship for this portion of the *Mercator* prologue.

<sup>27</sup>For the other interpretation, i. e., *inopia*=the condition of being without the object of one's affections, cf. *Prescott* p. 20. In this sense a comparison with *σπάνις*, *ἐπιθυμία ἀτελής* *Andronicus περὶ παθῶν* p. 4 (p. 16 *Kreuttner*, *V. Arnim* 397) might be in order. Cf. also *Cicero Tusc. disp.* IV.21 *indigentia libido inexplibilis* (*V. Arnim* III.398) and *Tischer-Sorof ad locum*, *Melcher o. c.* p. 24. This meaning for *σπάνις*, though certainly not common in the Greek *sermo*, is attractive: *A. P.* XII.30.3 *φύλαξαι μή σε καὶ ἡ πυγὴ ταῦτὰ παθοῦσα λάθῃ καὶ γνώσῃ φιλέοντος ὕσῃ σπάνις*.

## II

The so-called *sermo amatorius* of Roman Comedy divides naturally into several different classes of words. The *Plautine* abstracts just considered are not closely related to the general *sermo*, and were best explained by comparison with other than strictly erotic sources. In contrast to these is what we may call the *sermo meretricius*, i. e., the somewhat specialized and quasi-technical vocabulary of the meretrix, the leno, and the young men "qui amant a lenone." This class of words is of peculiar interest because so many of the words included are technical in the narrowest sense, and may be fully interpreted only by comparison with the Greek words for which they stand.<sup>28</sup> As in the case of the abstract nouns, and perhaps to an even greater degree, the study of the *sermo amatorius* in the special phase which I have termed the *sermo meretricius*, may be expected to contribute toward the reconstruction of the Greek background for Comedy. The object of this study is to consider diction, rather than larger topics, as the material of Comedy, in this, as in most other respects, has been very thoroughly dealt with by other scholars.

The fact that the meretrix in Comedy is a somewhat conventionalized literary figure does not preclude a certain realism in treatment. In line with this realism is the constant use of a number of expressions that have to do with the business activities of the meretrix, and were undoubtedly in everyday use among the people. These terms are in the truest sense technical. The business itself is ordinarily referred to as a gainful occupation, (*ἐργασία*)<sup>29</sup> *quaestus*; from the moral standpoint this business is stigmatized as *indignus* or *turpis* (*αἰσχρὸς*): *Poen.* 1139-40 *namque hodie earum mutarentur nomina facerentque indignum genere quaestum corpore*, *Sex. Turp. Rib.* 42 *mulier meretrix quae me quaesti causa cognovit sui* (cf. also *Turp. Rib.* 84), *Terence Hec.* 756 *si esset alia ex hoc quaestu*. Cf. also *Plaut. Asin.* 511, *Cist.* 121, *Miles* 785, *Rudens* 541, *Ter. Andr.* 79. Cf. *Aristaen.* I.19 *αὐτίκα τῆς αἰσχρᾶς αὐτὴν*

<sup>28</sup>The Attic provenance of the meretrix in Roman Comedy is asserted by *Leo* (*Gesch. d. röm. Literatur* I. p. 144). "Die attische Hetäre ist etwas dem Rom des hannibalischen Krieges und auch der folgenden Jahrzehnte begrifflich Fremdes; in Tarent konnte man wohl dergleichen finden, aber die römischen Analogien waren nicht geeignet, Farben für das attische Spiel abzugeben" (cf. also *Leo Plaut. Forsch.*<sup>2</sup> p. 140 n. 2). *Polybius XXXII.* 11. 3 dates the influx of the hetaerae into Rome in the first half of the second century B. C.

<sup>29</sup>For comparisons from other trades cf. *Asin.* 198 sqq., *Lucian meretr. dial.* 7. 2, *Leo Plaut. Forsch.*<sup>2</sup> p. 150 n. 2.



ἀνέστησεν ἐργασίας, Hdt. II.135, Dem. 270.15. The Latin quaestum corporis (corpore) facere represents the Greek ἐργάζεσθαι σώματι: Polyb. 12.13.2, Alex. Sam. ap. Ath. 572 F. So in Greek we have ἐργάτις (operatrix) as a synonym for ἐταίρα (πόρνη), A. P. V.245 εἰσὶ γὰρ ἄλλαι κρέσσονες εὐλέκτρον κύπριδος ἐργάτιδες, and the Latin opera "service" is part of the same idea. Cf. opera, operaria: Bacch. 74 opera, Asin. 721 opto annum hunc perpetuom huius operas (servitus amatoria, Ussing), ibid. 598, Bacch. 45<sup>30</sup>, Cist. 740, Miles 1057, (1075), Rudens 440. The commercial nature of such "service" is emphasized by various combinations: cf. Bacch. 74 Ah, nimium pretiosa es operaria, Cist. 740 at pol illi quoidam mulieri nulla opera gratuita est. Cf. also Gr. ἐργαστήριον "workshop" = brothel Dem. 1367.26. In elegy we have officium = opera in the erotic sense: cf. Propert. II.25.39, II.22.24, Ovid Am. III.7.24.

The public of the meretrix (ἐταίρα), those who resorted to her regularly, is commonly referred to as her adventores, "customers", and the verb in ordinary use is advenio (προσ or ἐπι-φοιτῶ) Truc. 96: ne quis adventor gravior abaetat quam adveniat, ibid. 616 si aequom facias adventores meos non incuses, quorum mihi dona accepta, Apul. met. 10.21 basiola. . . . meretricum poscinummia . . . . adventorum negantinummia, Varro Men. 263 (doubtful, cf. T. L. L. I.836.73, where adventores is cited as customers of a caupona, "caupona dub.") In general cf. T. L. L. I.836. 69-74, Lodge s. v. Venio is also technical in this sense: Nov. 24 Rib. multum ames, paulum des, crebro venias, rarer, Verg. Cat. I.1-3 Delia, Tucca, tibi venit . . . . Delia. saepe tibi non venit adhuc mihi; cf. also Propertius I.5.32 quare quid possit mea Cynthia, desine, Galle, quaerere: non impune illa rogata venit, where the technical force is overlooked by Rothstein ("dazu tritt venire in der zu I.4.10 besprochenen Weise als Vertretung des einfachen Verbums esse"), ib. I.10.25. Note also adire = advenire (technical): Bacch. 617 (indignior) . . . . quem quisquam homo aut amet aut adeat, Asin. 141, Catullus 8.16 (Friedrich ad loc.). On adeo in general cf. T. L. L. I.620, 54-57, Lodge s. v. For the Greek cf. Alciph. I.35 ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτᾶν (amatores), ibid. I.37 πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ κοιμησόμενος, ἐφοίτα, Lucian dial. meretr. X.1.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup>Leo, critical note ad 1., reads deddiderit operas, comparing Bacch. 93; he suggests as a possible reading reddiderit, comparing Cicero ad fam. 16.10.2 (tu Musis nostris para ut operas reddas), ad Att. 6.2.6.

<sup>31</sup>Technical force should be noted also for quaero: Pseud. 1125 scortum quaerit, Poet. 688 hospitium te aiunt quaeritare (a possible euphemism, as a leno is speaking, cf. infra 690-691), Men. 675 quis hic me quaerit? ME. Sibi inimicus magis quam aetati tuae. Cf. Greek δίζημι Odyss. 21. 160 ἄλλην δὲ τιν' ἔπειτα Ἀχαιῶν ἐπέπλων

The lover is said also to keep company, maintain relations, with the meretrix, consuescere, solere (ὀμιλεῖν): Ter. Hec. 555 nam si is posset ab ea sese derepente avellere quacum tot consuesset annos, Cist. 36<sup>32</sup> viris cum suis praedicant nos solere, Lucian dial. meretr. X.2 ἀφ' οὗ γυναικὶ ὀμιλεῖν ἤρξατο-πρῶτον δὲ ὀμίλησέ μοι. An intimacy of this kind is called consuetudo (συνήθεια, ὀμιλία): Ter. And. 279 (cf. Donatus ad loc.) ut neque me consuetudo neque amor neque pudor commoveat (-moneat?), Phorm. 161 dum expecto quam mox veniat qui adimat hanc mihi consuetudinem,<sup>33</sup> Cist. 94, Pseud. 64, Turp. 94 Rib., cf. T. L. L. IV.561, 46-75 Lodge s. v. For the Greek equivalents compare Men. frag. 726K. ἔργον ἐστὶ Φανία μακρὰν συνήθειαν βραχεῖ λῦσαι χρόνῳ, Samia 280 χρόνος συνήθει' οἷς ἐδουλούμην ἐγώ, Alciph. I.33.<sup>34</sup>

μνάσθω . . . . διζήμενος, Aristoph. 451K. γυναῖκα δὲ ζητοῦντες ἐνθάδ' ἤκομεν (ζητῶ). In the Menaechmi passage, sibi inimicus, etc., seems to imply a hostile force in the verb quaerere; for this cf. Prop. III.5.12 et hostem quaerimus, Sen. quaest. nat. V.18.5 hostem in mare aut post mare quaeremus. For quaero in the sermo amatorius cf. Catullus VIII.13 nec te requiret nec rogabit invitam (Friedrich ad loc.), Horace Epod. 12.16, 15.13, Prop. II.24a.9, I.4.20 (possibly). Rogare is technical as a decided euphemism in elegy, cf. Fried. on Cat. VIII.13, but not, apparently, in Comedy.

<sup>32</sup>Cist. 36 solere, "sc. rem habere" Ussing; so also most of the older commentators. More likely solere is itself a translation of Gr. ὀμιλεῖν, in which case there is no ellipsis. Cf. Catullus 113. 1 duo . . . . solebant Moecliam (mecilia is the reading of O). Friedrich defends the MSS -ā citing Ter. Adelph. 666 where there is good authority (cod. Bemb.) for consuevit illā, though the metrically more difficult cum illa is offered by other MSS. In both examples Friedrich postulates the ellipsis of uti or some other verb that governs the abl. Baehrens reads cum Moeclia, in the Catullus passage, emending the rest of the line. It seems easier to read the accusative in Catullus 113. 1 but in the Adelph. passage cum should stand; consuescere is even more suggestive of Gr. ὀμιλεῖν than solere.

<sup>33</sup>G. Ramain Quomodo Bembinus Liber, etc., Paris, 1894 and Rev. de Phil. XXX.34. defends aegritudo for this place, affirming that consuetudo, which he defines as an affectus animi amoris proximus, is meaningless in this connection. Hauler (Phormio, Dziatzko-Hauler<sup>4</sup> Anhang p. 231, defends consuetudo, as does Kauer Jahresbericht 143 p. 241. Hauler and Kauer rightly observe that consuetudo frequently refers to an intimate relationship, "living with" the mistress (And. 279, 439) or the legal wife (Phorm. 161, Hec. 404, And. 560). Note, however, that Ramain's definition is accurate for such an example as And. 110 (cited by Hauler, note on Phorm. 161) for the stronger meaning.

<sup>34</sup>Consuetio in Plautus has a more specific meaning than consuetudo, cf. Plaut. Amph. 490 (but cf. also Donatus on Adelphoe IV.5.32, Paulus 61, Leo crit. note ad loc.). So frequently ὀμιλία but not always; for the weaker meaning cf. Ach. Tat. I.9 Μέγιστον γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐφθόδιον εἰς πειθῶ συνεχῆς πρὸς ἐρώμενον ὀμιλία, for the stronger Xen. Symp. VIII.22, Mem. III.11.14. The glosses give συνήθεια or ἔθος, not ὀμιλία, as equivalent to consuetudo, cf. Corp. Gloss. II.113. 31, 446.12, III.158.49,



The commoner relations between the meretrix or the leno and the amator are expressed in terms borrowed from the marriage ceremony. The lover might remove his mistress from the house of the leno to quarters provided by himself; he was then said to take or escort, ducere (ἀγειν) and the leno to release, or dismiss, mittere (ἀποπέμπειν): Poen. 100 neque duxit umquam neque ille voluit mittere, *ibid.* 269 duxit domum, *cf.* adduco Merc. 813 amicam adduxit intro in aedes, *cf.* εἰσάγω Aristoph. Eccl. 983 ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νυνὶ τὰς ὑπερεξηκοντέτεϊς εἰσάγομεν. Adduco is used also of the meretrix, who leads a man to her home: Truc. 114 eumpse ad nos si domi erit, mecum adducam, *ibid.* 514. Duco<sup>35</sup> in Comedy is used indifferently of marriage or illicit love; ducto, with reference, perhaps, to its proper frequentative force, refers only to the latter, Phorm. 500 ut phaleratis ducas dictis me et meam ductes gratiis, Menaech. 694, Poen. 272 (ductito), *ibid.* 868, Merc. 786 obducto (in conspectum ducere, Taub.). In general *cf.* Lodge s. v. duco, adduco, ducto etc., and T. L. L. I.593, 45-50, 57. Nubo, as used of illicit relations, is conscious, and designedly facetious, so may better be mentioned elsewhere in this discussion (*cf.* p. 42).

The commercial side of such transactions is expressed by the verb conducere (μισθοῦσθαι) *cf.* Corp. Gloss. II.372.6, 108.7, Bacch. 1097 memoravit eam sibi hunc annum conductam, Amph. 288, T. L. L. IV.159. 48-60, Lodge s. v. Latin conduco may translate λαμβάνω, which is often used instead of the more exact μισθοῦσθαι, sometimes with the price subjoined. For the latter verb *cf.* Lucian Dial. meretr. VI.4 οἱ μισθούμενοι, for the former Luc. Dial. meretr. XI.1 ἐταίραν δὲ τις παραλαβὼν πέντε δραχμὰς τὸ μίσθωμα δούς, Alexander frag. 3K. εἰς αὐριὸν με δεῖ λαβεῖν

276.43, *ἔθος* II.285.1, III.142.4, etc. Consuescere is used regularly in malam partem: Plaut. Asin. 222 (in word play), *ibid.* 703, Cap. 867, Cist. 87 (*cf.* Lodge s. v.), Caec. Stat. 149 Rib., Ter. Hec. 555, Phorm. 873, Adelph. 666 (T. L. L. IV.551. 69-75). Consuescere in these passages is similar to δμιλεῖν (=μιγνῆναι) Aristaen. II.7 αὐτῶν ἐρωτικῶς δμιλούντων or to συνείναι (συγγίγνεσθαι) for which the regular expression in Latin Comedy is cum aliquo esse Truc. 362, 688, 706, 936, Most. 392, Merc. 102, Menaech. 188, Amph. 817, Ter. Hec. 156. For συνείναι *cf.* Aristoph. Pax 863, Eccl. 340, 619, συνονοσία Men. frag. 541K., Aristaen. II.7.

<sup>35</sup>The idiom scortum ducere becomes as general in meaning as uxorem ducere, i. e., all thought of the actual "taking" or escorting, is lost, and the phrase is often equivalent to scortari, Bacch. 1080 duxi habui scortum, Pseud. 258. By an apparent confusion of idioms ducere is used with noctem in the sense of conducere, Poen. 108 ducit noctem; the phrase is so interpreted by the older commentators, and by Lodge (tentatively). This is perhaps supported by Naev. 105 Rib. eius noctem nauco ducere, where the idea of hiring seems predominant in duco; *cf.* the fact that we have the ablative of price instead of the genitive as in the phrases nauci, flocci ducere (facere).

αὐλητρίδα. That λαμβάνω is not the habere of habui scortum may perhaps be inferred from such a passage as Alexis 213K. δύο λαβεῖν μαγεῖρους βούλομαι.<sup>36</sup> Πρίαμαι occurs Philemon 4K. 8, Eubul 67K. πρίασθαι κέρματος τὴν ἡδονήν<sup>37</sup> *cf.* emere Most. 286 nam amator meretricis mores sibi emit auro et purpura, Poen. 274 nebulai cyatho septem noctes non emam. Vendere is frequent, of both sexes, *cf.* Miles 312, Curc. 482. The consideration received is the merces; so merces annua Truc. 31, Bacch. 29, Ter. Phorm. 414; according to the charge, a meretrix is pretiosa (Bacch. 74), or vilis, *cf.* scorta diobolaria Poen. 270, amicae . . . . diobolares Cist. 407 (*cf.* Varro L. L. VII.64. Fest. 329) Pseud. 659 (all modern editors read doliarem; diobolarem, Camerarius), Diobolaria (title of comedy) Fulg. 566-7, *cf.* Antiph. 300K. τριωβόλῳ δὲ πόρνην (ἐξελαύνειν), Plato. com. 174K. (l. 17) Κυβδάσῳ τριώβολον, Epicrates 3K. l. 22. Corresponding to merces are μίσθωμα Luc. Dial. meretr. XI.1, μισθωμάτιον (mercedula) Alciphron I.36, ἐμπολή Artemid. I.78, Dio C. 79.13. Where a meretrix was retained for an extended period of time, a formal contract was concluded;<sup>38</sup> such a contract (συγγραφή) is burlesqued, Plaut. Asin. 746 sq., where Latin syngraphus is used.

Avarice is the most marked characteristic of the meretrix (*cf.* Hoelzer p. 68 sq.). In addition to the regular merx she is constantly soliciting gifts, dona (δῶρα); Asin. 512 lingua poscit, corpus quaerit, etc., Truc. 16, 51, Lucil. 684, Men. Thais 217K. αἰτοῦσαν πυκνά, Alciph. I.30 αἰτοῦσαι παρὰ τῶν ἐραστῶν ἀργύριον, A. P. V.121, etc. These gifts are a constant theme in Comedy: *cf.* Truc. 544, Cist. 133, Ter. Eun. 163, Pseud. 177, Truc. 425, etc. Hence the verbs do, dono (δίδωμι) are in frequent use of the lover, Bacch. 1080, Truc. 230, 239, 634, 911, etc. Defero is found in the same sense: Men. 133, 173, 561, Miles 960, etc., and degero Truc. 113b, Men. 741, 804. Lovers are called munigeruli (Pseud. 181). Accipio

<sup>36</sup>Habeo, Bacch. 1080, Ter. And. 85, Adelph. 389 is Greek ἔχω Men. 295K. Χρυσίδα, Κορώνην . . . . καὶ Ναννάριον ἔσχηκας, Antiph. 102K. εἴτ' οὐ δικαίως εἰμι φιλογύνης ἐγὼ καὶ τὰς ἐταίρας ἡδέως πάσας ἔχω, Baton 3K., Eup. 9K. For the precise meaning of the words *cf.* Donatus on Adelphoe 389 an domi est habiturus "proprie quia haberi uxor dicitur et haberi mulier cum coit." Petr. 130 paralyisin . . . . quae abstulit mihi, per quod etiam te habere potui (Taub.). In many cases, particularly with the phrase γυναῖκα ἔχειν (of marriage) the erotic idea is in abeyance.

<sup>37</sup>*Cf.* Hec. 69 quam minimo pretio suam voluptatem expleat. For mores (Most. 286) *cf.* Amphis 1K. ἡ δ' (meretrix) οἶδεν ὅτι ἡ τοῖς τρόποις ὠνητέος ἀνθρωπός ἐστιν ἡ πρὸς ἄλλον ἀπιτέον. Note Afranius 380 Rib. (morigeratio) but *cf.* also Leo Plaut. Forsch.<sup>2</sup> p. 145 "ἐγνώμων τρόπος ist nicht morigeratio."

<sup>38</sup>*Cf.* Legrand Daos p. 275, Schömann-Lipsius Der att. Process p. 732-733, Beauchet Droit privé de la republ. ath. IV. p. 42.



is technical of the meretrix: Truc. 616 *adventores meos . . . . .*  
*quorum mihi dona accepta et grata habeo: tuaque ingrata quae abs te*  
*accepi* cf. λαμβάνω Philostr. Epist. 12.2, and Boissonade n. ad loc. λαβεῖν  
 "accipere et dare nota Latinis in amatoria vocabula aequae ac Graecis  
 χαρίζεσθαι et λαβεῖν: Olearius." With χαρίζεσθαι in this sense com-  
 pare the use of χάριτες = dona, munera, Alciph. I.36, though this may be  
 rather parallel to Latin dona accepta, grata (Truc. 616 et al.). Aufero  
 is also used of the meretrix: Truc. 16 *sed relicuom dat operam ne sit*  
*relicuom poscendo atque auferendo ut mos est mulierum.* For δῶρα  
 ἀποφέρω, δίδωμι, etc., cf. Alciph. I.6.2 κωμάζουσι εἰς αὐτήν ἢ πρὸς θάλατταν  
 νεολαία καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλο δῶρον ἀποφέρει, Aristoph. Thesm. 345 ἢ δῶρά τις  
 δίδωσι μοιχῶ γραῦς γυνή. For dare, auferre munera, in elegy cf. Pichon  
 s. vv.

Avarice, in the mistress, provokes extravagance in the lover, whose  
 prodigal gifts are usually referred to in Plautus as *damna*. *Damnum*  
 (-a), as used in Latin Comedy, is of peculiar interest because of the  
 apparent lack of any adequate Greek background. In its legal uses  
 (cf. T. L. L. V.23.30 sq. 24. 70 sq. 25. 58 sq.), *damnum* may often be  
 glossed by ζημία (cf. also Corp. Gloss. II.322. 20; 503. 22; 529. 43;  
 534. 61; III.4. 33). The same thing is true of *damnum* in general usage,  
 outside of legal contexts, i. e., *damnum* = *deminutio rei familiaris* opposed  
 to *lucrum* (T. L. L. V.22. 55 sq.); note particularly Don. on Ter. Eunuch.  
 994 *damnum rei est, malum ipsius hominis*; this distinction seems to be  
 fairly apt for ζημία also. ζημία and κέρδος are contrasted Chilon. ap.  
 Apost. 8. 34 b ζημίαν αἰροῦ μᾶλλον ἢ κέρδος αἰσχροῦν (Otto Sprich. 197),  
 cf. Men. mon. 496 τὰ μικρὰ κέρδη ζημίας μεγάλας φέρει. Note also Publil.  
 Syrus 113 Rib. *damnum appellandum est cum mala fama lucrum*,  
 Men. mon. 6 ἅπαν τὸ κέρδος ἄδικον δὲ φέρει βλάβην.<sup>39</sup> This general use  
 of *damnum* outside the *sermo amatorius* is exceedingly common in  
 Comedy, in the idioms *damnum facere*, and *damnum dare*, in com-  
 bination with *malum*, and in opposition to *lucrum* (cf. Lodge I.349.C,  
 Otto loc. cit.). The word is very evidently an old Latin word, with  
 certain technical (legal) associations. It may occasionally translate  
 ζημία in Comedy, but in certain cases, even outside the *sermo*, this is  
 impossible; cf. the pun Men. 267 *ne mihi damnum in Epidamno dui*.

The *damna* of lovers (cf. T. L. L. V.23. 20 sq.) appear to be peculiar  
<sup>39</sup>*Damnum* as an epithet for the meretrix (Men. 133) is apparently the Greek ζημία;  
 cf. Ter. Eunuch. 79 *calamitas nostri fundi*, and for the thought, Alciph. III.33 ὅλον σε  
 αὐτοῖς ἀγροῖς καταπιῶσα. So also Curc. 49 *malus clandestinus est amor*,  
*damnumst merum*; cf. Aristoph. Achar. 737 τίς δ' οὕτως ἄνους δὲ ὑμέ κα πρίαιτο, φανεράν  
 ζημίαν.

to the Latin *sermo*. Extravagance in a lover is rarely emphasized in the  
 Greek *sermo*, and, where mentioned, is referred to by some such neutral  
 term as *δαπάνη* (*sumptus*) or *ἀνάλωμα*: cf. Timocles 23K. παμπολλ' ἀναλίσ-  
 κων ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ (coitu), Alciph. I.18.3 πέπαυσο εἰς ταῦτα δαπανώμενος μή  
 σε ἀντὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἢ γῆς ναυαγὸν ἀποφύγῃ ψιλώσασα τῶν χρημάτων,  
 ibid. III.8 δαπανᾶται οὐκ ὀλίγα μάτην: ibid. III.50, Diph. 32K. ἐὰν δ' ὑπὲρ τὴν  
 οὐσίαν δαπανῶν τύχῃ, Men. ap. Stob. Flor. XV.1 τοὺς τὸν ἴδιον δαπανῶντας  
 ἀλογίστως βίον. (The last two cases are possibly not in erotic contexts.)

So far as we may judge from the existing fragments, Greek Comedy  
 had much less to say on this topic of extravagance than Latin imitations,  
 nor was it regarded as particularly vicious from the moral angle, i. e.  
*δαπάνη* did not entail βλάβη, at least to any appreciable degree.

In Plautus and Terence we find a very different situation. *Damnum*,  
 extended to mean wasteful or ruinous expenditures, is consistently  
 employed instead of the weaker *sumptus*. More significant still is the  
 fact that in erotic contexts, and sometimes elsewhere, *damnum* is habitu-  
 ally paired with *flagitia*, *dedecus*, and the like: cf. Bacch. 376 *tua flagitia*  
*aut damna aut desidiabula*, 380-1 *tuom patrem meque una amicos, adfines*  
*tuos tua infamia fecisti gerulifigulos flagiti*, ibid. 1032, Merc. 784, Pseud.  
 440. All Plautine examples of *damnum* with *flagitium* (*dedecus*) [cf.  
 Lodge I.349 c.] are in erotic contexts, with one exception, Asin. 571  
*dedecus*. Note also Horace Sat. II.2.96, Cicero phil. frag. V.81 *quod*  
*turpe damnum quod dedecus, quod non avocetur atque eliciatur volup-*  
*tate*. Interesting in this connection is the gloss *damnum* = βλάβη (Corp.  
 Gloss. II.257.51).

The wastrel hero of Greek Comedy was something quite foreign to  
 Roman ideas of thrift and economy. The idea suggests itself that in  
*damna* (-um) *flagitia*, etc., in the *sermo amatorius* of Roman Comedy  
 we have a Roman reaction against the dissoluteness and particularly  
 the extravagance of the Hellenistic Greek. There is involved an idea  
 of the interdependence of property and reputation; as *damnum* affects  
*res* (property) it involves *dedecus* or *flagitium* (the reverse process is  
 also recognized). This may perhaps be best illustrated by a few pas-  
 sages: cf. Most. 144 *nunc simul res fides et fama, virtus, decus deseruerunt*,  
 ibid. 227 *ut fama est homini, exin solet pecuniam invenire*, Phorm. 271  
*si est, patre, culpam ut Antipho in se admiserit, ex qua re minus rei*  
*foret aut famae temperans*, and notably Livy XXXIX.9.6 sq. *huic*  
*(libertinae) consuetudo iuxta vicinitatem cum Aebutio fuit, minime*  
*adulescentis aut rei aut famae damnosa*; *ultra enim amatus adpetitusque*  
*erat, et maligne omnia praebentibus suis, meretriculae munificentia*



sustentabatur. In this passage, emphasizing, as it does, the view that the reputation suffers only as the pocketbook, and ignoring altogether what seems to us most ignominious in the situation, we have, it seems to me, an explicit statement of the Roman gospel of thrift, as it appears in the use of *res*, *fama* vs. *damnum*, *flagitium* in Comedy.

The same idea appears in some other usages in Comedy: cf. the verbs *pergraecari* (Truc. 87b, Most. 22 with context. *ibid.* 64) *congraecare* (Bacch. 743), *graecari* (Horace Sat. II.2.11). *Nequam*=dissolute and *frugi*=continent (cf. p. 39) show the same development from Roman ideas of thrift as the paramount virtue.

The plural *damna* is more frequent than the singular in erotic contexts: cf. Truc. 950 *stultus atque insanus damnis certant*, Bacch. 66 *palaestra ubi damnis desudascitur*, *ibid.* 375-6 *ut celem patrem*, Pistoclere, *tua flagitia aut damna aut desidiabula*. With the adjective *damnigeruli* Truc. 551 *mulierei damnigeruli* cf. Pseud. 181 *amatores munigeruli*; the idea in *damnigeruli* appears to be in effect "bearing the wasteful presents of their master." Cf. also the later use of *damna* with reference to foolish or extravagant conduct in erotic relations, Martial X.58 *sed non solus amat, qui nocte dieque frequentat limina, nec vatem talia damna decent*.

The adjective *damnosus* takes its coloring from *damnum*. In accordance with the legal and common derived meanings of *damnum* (cf. pp. 20, 21) the adjective is glossed by *ἐπιζήμιος* and *πολυζήμιος* (Corp. Gloss. II.37.31; II.37.19). This covers such cases as Bacch. 117 *quid tibi commercist cum dis damnosissimis i. e. qui damna inferunt*, Hor. epist. I.18.21 *quem damnosa Venus nudat*, Juv. XIV.4 *damnosa . . . . . alea*. Cf. also Livy loc. cit. (p. 21) *consuetudo . . . . . rei aut famae damnosa*. The word is used, of extravagant giving, with the connotations peculiar to *damna*: Pseud. 415 *si de damnosis aut si de amatoribus dictator fiat*, Truc. 82 *postquam alium repperit qui plus daret damnosiore meo exinde immovit loco*. A doubtful case is Epid. 319 *argentum accipio ab damno sene* (T. L. L. V.20.82 "qui invitus damnosus est cf. 309", *ibid.* 22.21 "passivo sensu i. e. qui damnum patitur Epid. 319 [?v. p. 20.82]"; so Lodge). The rarity of this usage suggests that the word is better taken in the sense of foolishly, harmfully wasteful; the old man is none the less wasteful because he does not know that he is wasteful.

A natural consequence of the extravagant lover, amator *damnosus*, is the amator *egens* (*πένης*): Asin. 684 *da mi istas viginti minas: vides me amantem egere*, Curc. 142 *qui amat si eget misera adficitur aerumna*,

Pseud. 273, Persa 1, Pseud. 695 (*egestas*)<sup>40</sup>. *Inopia* (*argentaria*) is a common complaint of lovers: cf. Pseud. 300, Caec. Stat. 199 Rib. (cited p. 14), Asin. 724. Compare in general Callim. Epigr. 46. 5-6 *τοῦτο, δοκέω, χά λιμός ἔχει μόνον ἐς τὰ πονηρὰ τῷγαθόν, ἐκκόπτει τὰν φιλόπαιδα νόσον*, A. P. V.113 *Ἡράσθης πλουτῶν Σωσίκρατες ἀλλὰ πένης ὦν οὐκέτ' ἐρᾷς. λιμός φάρμακον οἶον ἔχει . . . . . ὥς οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἔχοντι φίλος*. For *σπάνις*=*inopia argentaria* cf. Men. mon. 156 *ἔρωτα παύει λιμός ἢ χαλκοῦ σπάνις*.

The words so far discussed relate chiefly to the *quaestus* or *ἐργασία* of the meretrix. It ranked also as an art, *τέχνη*, (Leo Plaut. Forsch.<sup>2</sup> p. 146, n. 1): Ter. Haut. 226 *habet bene et pudice eductam, ignaram artis meretriciae*, *ibid.* 366-7 *haec arte tractabat virum*, etc., Alexis 98K. *καινὰς ἐταίρας πρωτοπείρους τῆς τέχνης* (with *πρωτοπείρους*, cf. Latin *rudis Prop. I.9.8* and Rothstein note ad loc.). Considered in this light the profession of the meretrix is more complex, and the wiles of the courtesan are a favorite subject for literary expansion and development. However, most of the terms used in this connection were doubtless common property before their adoption as literary motifs, and so would belong, in outline, at least, under the head of realistic material.

The stock epithet of the meretrix in Comedy is *blanda* (*πιθανός*, *ἐπαγωγός*). She is constantly represented as wheedling or cajoling (*κολακέω*) and her wiles or seductions are referred to as *blanditiae* (*κολακείματα*): Casina 584 *vitium tibi istuc maxumumst: blanda's parum—non matronarum officiumst sed meretricium*, Men. 566K. *χαλεπὸν . . . . . πρὸς πόρνην μάχη' πλείονα κακουργεῖ, πλείον' οἶδ', αἰσχύνεται οὐδὲν, κολακεύει μᾶλλον*, Men. Thais frag. 217K. *θρασεῖαν, ὡραίαν δὲ καὶ πιθανὴν ἄμα*, Petr. 127 *illa risit tam blandum*, Aristaen. I.1 *μειδιᾷ πάνν ἐπαγωγόν*. For *blanditiae* (*κολακείματα*), perhaps the most technical of these expressions, cf. Ps. Ascon. Verr. p. 138 *blanditiae "feminis ac maxime meretricibus conveniunt," Corp. Gloss. II.352. 10 κολακίαι, 357. 54 κωτιλίαι—"blanditiae, singulare non habet."* In general, Truc. 318 *blandimentis oramentis ceteris meretriciis*, Men. 193, 262, Bacch. 50, 517, 1173, Cas. 586, Most. 221, Cist. 302, Pomp. 164 Rib. *blanda fallax*, Caec. 66 Rib., A. P. V.21, 186, etc., T. L. L. II.2034. 15 sq., 2034. 40 sq., 2030. 76 sq., Lodge s. v. *blandus, blandior, blanditiae*.

The *blanditiae* (*κολακείματα*) of the meretrix (cf. Hoelzer p. 84 sq., p. 29) include, of course, the more general varieties of flattery, and, as a

<sup>40</sup>Leo Plaut. Forsch.<sup>2</sup> p. 151 n. 4 "auch der pauper amator der Elegie stammt aus der Komödie."



type, the courtesan has much in common with the parasite (Leo Plaut. Forsch.<sup>2</sup> p. 148, n. 2). These general aspects of the κόλαξ have been discussed by Ribbeck.<sup>41</sup> Erotic blanditiae include firstly endearments and caresses, for example the pet names<sup>42</sup> that are so frequent in Plautus: cf. Asin. 693 sq. dic igitur me(d) anitculam, columbulam, catellum, etc. Mart. XI.29. 3-5 nam cum me murem, cum me tua lumina dicis . . . blanditias nescis, ibid. X.68, 9-10, cf. Aristoph. Plutus 1010-1011 καὶ νῆ Δί' εἰ λυπουμένην αἰσθοιτό με νητάριον ἂν καὶ βάτιον ὑπεκορίζετο.

The lectus is frequently mentioned with reference to such blanditiae: Bacch. 54 quid metuis? ne tibi lectus malitiam apud me suadeat? Philiscus 1K. εἰς τὸ μεταπεῖσαι ῥαδίως ἃ βούλεται πιθανοὺς ἔχειν εἴωθεν ἡ κλίνη λόγους, Casina 883 conloco'fulcio mollio blandior<sup>43</sup>, Aristaen. II.7 ἀγνοῦσα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς εὐνῆς κολακίαν. For the general idea cf. Ach. Tat. I.5 ὑπέκκαυμα γὰρ ἐπιθυμίας λόγος ἐρωτικός and Catul. LV.20 verbosa gaudet venus loquella; cf. also Aristaen. II.14, A. P. V.262 (λάλημα), Theocr. Id. XX.6.

Other allurements are mentioned as illecebrae Men. 355 munditia illecebra animost amantium, Casina 887 inlecebram stupri principio eam savium posco, cf. ὑπέκκαυμα (L. fomes) Men. 237K. πολλοῖς ὑπέκκαυμ' ἔστ' ἔρωτος μουσική, Xen. Symp. IV.25, Ach. Tat. I.5 (cited above). The verbs illicio and pellicio are used of the meretrix: Asin. 206 quom inliciebas me ad te blande ac benedice, Truc. 298, cf. προτρέπω and προσάγομαι Aristaen. II.1 ἐταῖραι προτρέπουσαι πιθανῶς, ibid. II.10 καὶ ὁμιλεῖν ἐρωτικῶς προτρέπω τὴν κόρην, Parthen. 14 ἐρασθεῖσα πολλὰ ἐμηχανᾶτο εἰς τὸ προσαγαγέσθαι τὸν παῖδα. In this connection may be mentioned the Plautine word elecebra Bacch. 944, Men. 377 nam ita sunt hic meretrices: omnes elecebrae argentariae, cf. Festus p. 76, 5 M. elecebrae argentariae meretrices ab eliciendo argento dictae.

Among the blanditiae of the meretrix were tears: cf. Ter. Eunuch. 67 una mehercule falsa lacrimula, etc., And. 558, A. P. V.186 Μὴ με δόκει πιθανοῖς ἀπατᾶν δάκρυσι Φιλαινί, Lucian Tox. 13 p. 520, 15 p. 522 κολακία . . . καὶ ἐν καιρῷ δακρῦσαι καὶ μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων ἐλεεινῶς ὑποστενάξαι. Rebuffs and forced separation (cf. Hoelzer op. cit. p. 15) served to increase the eagerness of the lover: Haut. 366-7 haec arte tractabat virum ut illius animum cupidum inopia incenderet, Alciph. II.

<sup>41</sup>Abh. d. kgl. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. IX.1884 p. 1 ff.

<sup>42</sup>Cf. G. Fridberg Die Schmeichelworte der antiken Literatur, Bonn, 1912. Also Ramsay Mostellaria Excursus.

<sup>43</sup>"Fulcio mollio (lectum)" Lambinus ad loc.; an odd misunderstanding cf. fultus toro Juv. III.82, pulvino fultus Lucil. ap. Serv. in Verg. Ecl. 6. 53 (Marx 138).

1 (Hoelzer p. 83) διὸ καὶ μέγα τῶν ἐταιρουσῶν ἔστι σόφισμα αἰεὶ τὸ παρὸν τῆς ἀπολαύσεως ὑπερτιθεμένας ταῖς ἐλπίσι διακρατεῖν τοὺς ἐραστάς; cf. also Merc. 650, and, on inopia in general, p.14 n. 27.

From the point of view of the amator such treatment was contumelia (ὑβρις). In the list of vitia amoris, Merc. 30, we have the combination inopia (but cf. my interpretation, p. 14 and note) contumelia, and in Ter. Eunuch. 48, where the lover is denied access to his mistress, the expression non perpeti meretricum contumelias is used. Cf. also And. 557 denique eius libido occlusast contumeliis. According to Nonius (430. 15 cited p. 13 n. 25) contumelia is a stronger word than iniuria, but, as I have already remarked, (p. 13), this seems to be only in the sense of adding insult to injury. Iniuria is the word generally used of an actual breach of obligation: cf. Miles 438 meo ero facis iniuriam, and general usage outside the sermo. ὑβρις and ὑβρίζω are to be compared with contumelia: Theocr. Id. XIV.8 ἐμὲ δ' ἂ χαρίεσσα Κυνίσκα ὑβρίσδει, Ach. Tat. I.2 τοσαύτας ὑβρεις ἐξ ἔρωτος παθὼν, ibid. VII.1 Ὁργίζετο μὲν ὡς ὑβρισμένος ἤχθετο δὲ ὡς ἀποτυχὼν, Lucian Dial. meretr. III.3 ad f.

The most frequent form of contumelia is exclusio. A favored lover of course enjoyed the pas: Asin. 236 nec . . . alium admittat . . . quam me ad se virum, cf. also intromitto Truc. 944, Asin. 756, Ter. Hec. 743 (recepto), Eunuch. 485, cf. Greek δέχομαι εἰς(προσ-)δέχομαι<sup>44</sup>, Theocr. Id. XIV.47 Λύκω καὶ νυκτὸς ἀνῶκται, Terence Eunuch. 89 sane quia haec mihi patent semper fores, Alciph. I.6.2 ἡ δὲ εἰσδέχεται καὶ ἀναλοῖ χαρὺ βδεως δίκην, ibid. I.34, Parthen. 34, Ach. Tat. II.19, Aristoph. Thesm. 346. On the other hand it was common for the meretrix to deny access: excludo, extrudo (ἀποκλείω, ἐκβάλλω, διωθέω) Eun. 49 exclusit, revocat; redeam? Menaech. 698 nunc ego sum excludisissimus, cf. Timocl. 23K. ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ὁ δυστυχὴς Φρύνης ἐρασθεῖς . . . τῆς θύρας ἀπεκλήρομην, Aristaen. II.16 ὅτι μὴ ἀπέκλεισα ἐλθόντα "ἐνδον ἕτερος" εἰποῦσα ἀλλ' εἰσεδεχόμεν ἀπροφασίστως<sup>45</sup>, Truc. 86 me extrudat foras, Cist. 530,

<sup>44</sup>Cf. Aristoph. Equites 737-8 σύ γὰρ ὁμοῖος εἰ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐρωμένοις. τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς τε κάγαθοὺς οὐ προσδέχει (admitto), with Neil's note ad loc.

<sup>45</sup>With reference to ἀπροφασίστως, the excuses that might be used to put off a lover are illustrated by Miles 250 sq. (although the connection is slightly different) facilest, trecentae possunt causae colligi "non domist: abit ambulatorum: dormit: ornatur: lavat: prandet: potat: occupatast: operae non est: non potest." On lavat cf. Truc. 322 piscis ego credo, qui usque dum vivunt lavant, minus diu lavare quam haec lavat Phronesium. Some such connection is possible for the cryptic fragment Antiph. 148K. ἔρχεται μετέρχετ' αὖ, προσέρχετ' αὖ, μετέρχετ' ἤκει, παρέστι ῥύπτεται, προσέρχεται, σμῆται κτενίζετ' ἐκβέβηκ' ἐντρίβεται λούται, σκοπεῖται, στέλλεται μυρίζεται κοσμεῖτ', ἀλείφετ' ἂν δ' ἔχη τι ἀπάγχεται.



A. P. V.41 *τίς γυμνήν οὕτω σε καὶ ἐξέβαλεν καὶ ἔδειρεν*, A. P. V.161, Alciph. I.37 *ἀποκλείσειν καὶ διώσασθαι*.

The doors (fores) of the loved one are frequently apostrophized by the excluded lover, and the serenade addressed to the doors (fores occentare) is a commonplace of Comedy and Elegy: Merc. 408, Persa 569, Curc. 145, *quid si adeam ad fores atque occentem . . . . . pessuli, heus pessuli, vos saluto lubens*, etc. Such a song is technically known as *παρακλαυσίθυρον*<sup>46</sup>: A. P. V.103 *Μέχρι τίνος Προδίκη παρακλαύσομαι*. So also *προσάδειν*, Aristaen. II.19 *παρίτω πάλιν προσάδων; θυραυλῶ*, properly to wait at the door, is used occasionally for fores occentare: Aristaen. II.20. For the latter word in the sermo cf. Philostr. Epist. 53.8 *εἰς δὲ θητείαν ὑπήχθη πικρὰν, ἥς ἔργα θυραυλῖαι καὶ χαμαικοιτίαι καὶ ἡ προς θάλπος καὶ χειμῶνα ἀντίταξις*. The impatient lover would often attack the door with "torch or crowbar": Persa 569 *fores exurent*, Turp. 200 Rib., Ter. Adelph. 88 *fores ecfregit*. Cf. *θυροκοπῶ* (*θυροκοπία*) Antiph. 239K., Diph. 128K., (Hoelzer p. 64-5, 63).

In connection with the excluded lover and the *παρακλαυσίθυρον* should be mentioned another convention of a somewhat similar character, the *μωρολογία* (Latin *stultiloquentia*); this expression may be used to denote extravagant or incoherent tirades of lovers, whether they be uttered as soliloquies or to some person. Often they were addressed to the sun, moon, stars, day, night, or air: cf. Merc. 4-5 *vi amoris facere qui aut nocti aut dii aut soli aut lunae miseras narrant suas*, Persa 49 *amoris vitio non meo nunc tibi morologus (stultiloquos) fio*, Poen. 435 sq., Cist. 283 sq., 512 sq.<sup>47</sup>

The words so far considered have dealt directly with the art or trade of the courtesan, and their connection with the sermo meretricius has been obvious. There remains a group of words and phrases, drawn from the vocabulary of everyday life, less obviously, perhaps, but no less certainly, a part of the same sermo. I refer particularly to the large

<sup>46</sup>For a general discussion cf. De la Ville de Mirmont "Le παρακλαυσίθυρον dans la littérature Latine" *Philologie et Linguistique, Mélanges Havet* pp. 57 sq. and Leo Gö. Gel. A. 1898 p. 748 "die lebendige Thür die die Menschen nach Willen einlässt oder ausschliesst ist altgriechische Vorstellung (Solon 4. 28, Aristoph. Ach. 127, Eurip. Androm. 924, Alc. 566); daraus erst erklärt sich der Typus des παρακλαυσίθυρον, wie ihn die neue Komödie entwickelt hat (Curculio); in der Ekklesiazusen heisst es noch (961) *σύ μοι καταδραμοῦσα τὴν θύραν ἀνοιξον*." Cf. also Hoelzer p. 60 sq.

<sup>47</sup>For Greek references cf. Leo Gö. Gel. A. 1898 p. 747, Plaut. Forsch.<sup>2</sup> p. 151 n. 1. Of the examples cited in these places note particularly Call. frag. 67, Alciph. I.8.1 and add A. P. V.166, 191, Men. 739K. Compare also Hoelzer pp. 46-7 (cites Ach. Tat. VI.18.2). On *μωρολογία* (*stultiloquium*) and the adj. *μωρολόγος* (*morologus*) cf. Brix-Niemeyer on Miles G. 296.

number of ordinary verbs and nouns which recur in erotic contexts with specialized meanings; the technical character of many of these words is further emphasized by the fact that they appear repeatedly in stereotyped combinations. Some words of this class, and many of less frequent occurrence, have a picturesqueness, and a colloquial quality, which seem to suggest that they were part of the argot, or slang, of the meretrix and the amator. Although it is somewhat difficult to differentiate this slang, I will attempt to do so, dealing first with those words and expressions that seem to have been in good and general usage. Such a classification must, in the nature of things, be more or less arbitrary, and the results are, therefore, open to criticism; it should be remembered that my object has been to suggest, as a working basis, what seems to be a valid distinction, without attempting to be dogmatic in its application.

It is interesting to find that, both in Greek and Latin, those "qui amant a lenone" are referred to by a class appellation, and seem almost to be thought of as a sort of Corinthian guild. For example, compare Aristaen. II.11 *ἐβουλόμην . . . . . τοὺς ἐρωτικούς ἅπαντας διερωτῆσαι*, Philostr. Epist. XXXVIII.8, with the cruder Latin expressions *homines voluptarii* Menaech. 259, Rud. 54, and *amatores mulierum* Menaech. 268; the Greek, as in the example from Aristaenetus, seems to apply to "initiates" i. e. those who were more or less versed in the *ars amatoria*. Such Latin expressions as those noted above seem closer to the primary significance of *ἐρωτικός* amorous, libidinous: cf. Alciph. I. 29 *ἐρωτικός γάρ ἐστι δαιμονίως*. Very commonly used of lovers in Comedy are the adjectives *venustus* and *invenustus*, compared ordinarily with Greek *ἐπαφρόδιτος* and *ἀναφρόδιτος*. Like Latin *venustus*, *ἐπαφρόδιτος* is a standing epithet for the *ἐταῖραι*: cf. Herod. II.135 *κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη* (Rhodopis) *μεγάλα ἐκτήσατο χρήματα*, *ibid.* *φιλέουσι δὲ κως ἐν τῇ Ναυκράτι ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἱ ἐταῖραι*. *Invenustus* may be merely the opposite of *venustus*, i. e., lacking in charm: so Catull. X.4 (*scortillum*) *non sane illepidum neque invenustum*, or may have the special sense of unlucky in love: cf. Ter. And. 245, Luc. D. Deorum 15.2. For the former meaning in the case of *ἀναφρόδιτος* cf. Hortens. apud Aul. Gell. I.5.13 "Ἀμουσος ἀναφρόδιτος ἀπροσδιόνυσος, Plutarch Mor. p. 57 D *τὰς μονολεχεῖς καὶ φιλάνδρους, ἀναφροδίτους καὶ ἀγροίκους ἀποκαλοῦντες*.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup>It may be worth noting that *ἐρωτικός* in its pleasant sense and combined with various other adjectives seems not far removed from Latin *venustus*. So Antiph. 80K. (of a parasite) *ἐρωτικός γελοῖος ἱλαρὸς τῷ τρόπῳ* (Meineke: *ἐρωτικός esse videtur amabilis ut apud Theocritum XIV.61*), cf. also Aristaen. II.19 *παρίτω πάλιν προσάδων κἂν ἐρωτικός μοι δοκῇ χαριῶμαι τῷ μειρακίῳ*, Theocr. XIV.61 *ἐγγνώμων*



In the parlance of the meretrix and the amator the verbs placeo (ἀρέσκω) and odi (μισῶ) are of considerable importance. The former is used of the lover who finds favor with his mistress: Casina 227 unguor ut illi placeam et placeo ut videor, Menaech. 670 si tibi displiceo, patiundum: at placuero huic Erotio, Asin. 183, Epid. 133, Most. 293, etc. Cf. Men. Perikeir. 241 ἤρεσκες αὐτῇ τάχα τέως νῦν δ' οὐκέτι, Alciphron I.33.5, etc. Odi is the antithesis of amare, as μισῶ of φιλῶ. Both verbs may express feelings ranging from hate to mere indifference, more often, in the sermo, the latter: cf. Ter. Eunuch. 40 amare, odisse, suspicari, Miles 1269 induxi in animum ne oderim item ut alias, Turp. 100 Rib., cf. Aristophanes Plut. 1072 οὐκ ἔω τὴν μείρακα μισεῖν σε ταύτην, Ach. Tat. V.25 ἡ καὶ μισουμένη τὸν μισοῦντα φιλῶ καὶ ὀδυνωμένη τὸν ὀδυνῶντα ἐλεῶ καὶ οὐδὲ ὕβρις τὸν ἔρωτα παύει. For stronger feelings cf. Merc. 761 uxor tua . . . . . quam dudum deixeras te odisse atque angues, Menaech. 189, Miles 128, 970, 1392; similarly μισῶ used in combination with ἐχθαίρω and σικχαίνω Call. Epigr. XXVIII (and compare Horace Odes III.1.1, I.8.4). Cf. also μισηταί, technical, Crat. 316 K. with notes.

Before passing to the euphemisms, perhaps the largest and most significant class of words in the erotic diction of Comedy, I wish to mention a few verbs which have something in common with euphemisms, in that they imply rather more than might appear on the surface. Sector is used regularly of the "love chase" with the meaning "pursue or press unwelcome attentions"; in this sense it is equivalent to διώκω<sup>49</sup> and is coupled or contrasted with fugio (φεύγω) in an antithesis common to both Greek and Latin: Merc. 669 ut illum persequar qui me fugit, Casina 466, Bacch. 28, Miles 91, 778, 1113, Sex. Turp. 100 Rib. quem olim oderat sectatur ultro ac detinet, Catull. VIII. 10 nec quae fugit sectare, Theocr. Id. VI.17 καὶ φεύγει φιλέοντα καὶ οὐ φιλέοντα διώκει, ibid. XI.75, Aristaen. II.16 ἐκείνην διώκεις ὅτι σε πόρρωθεν ἀποφεύγει, Call. Epigr. 31 (cf. Leo Plaut. Forsch.<sup>2</sup> p. 156). A stronger verb than sector is subigito (πειρῶ), which implies personal liberties and is used generally of improper advances: Miles 652 neque ego umquam alienum scortum subigito in

φιλόμουσος ἐρωτικός, εἰς ἄκρον ἀδύς, cf. Catull. XXII.2 homo est venustus et dicax et urbanus, Philostr. Epist. XXXI.2 καὶ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐρωτικὰ (ρόδα) καὶ πανοῦργα καὶ κάλλει χρῆσθαι εἰδότα. The word seems to suggest a definite quality, and amabilis does not seem to me an adequate substitute in any example. Cf. the use of ἀνέραςτος Philostr. Epist. XXXVII.1 Αἰτιᾶ με, ὅτι σοι ρόδα οὐκ ἔπεμψα. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε ὡς ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο ἐποίησα οὔτε ὡς ἀνέραςτος ἄνθρωπος; does not ἀνέραςτος here=invenustus?

<sup>49</sup>Sometimes sector=ἀκολουθῶ, which properly=sequor, consequor, cf. Phorm. 86, Cist. 91 (with Men. 558K.).

convivio (cf. Luc. Dial. meretr. III.1), Aristoph. Plut. 1068 πειρᾶ . . . . . σε καὶ τῶν τιθθίων ἐφάπτεται σου, ibid. 150 ὅταν μὲν αὐτάς (ἐταίρας) τις πένης πειρῶν τύχη, Equites 517<sup>50</sup> πολλῶν γὰρ δὴ πειρασάντων αὐτὴν ὀλίγοις χαρίσασθαι, Alciph. II.1. Subigitatio Capt. 1030 is paralleled by πείρα: cf. lexicon, and Persa 227 ne me attrecta, subigitatrix further illustrates the idea of the verb. Tento is similarly used in elegy: cf. Prop. I.3.15 leviter positam tentare lacerto.

A more refined vehicle for the same idea is supplied by audeo (τολμῶ) in its technical sense. The force of τολμῶ is clearly defined A. P. V.75 αὐτὴ μοι προσέπαιξε καὶ εἴ ποτε καιρὸς ἐτόλμων: ἡρυθρία . . . . . ἤνυσσα πολλὰ καμών, A. P. V.275 τολμήσας δ' ἐπέβην λεχέων ὕπερ, Longus I. 21 ὑπὸ τ' ἀπειρίας ἐρωτικῶν τολμημάτων. Audeo is not positively technical in this sense in Comedy<sup>51</sup> (i. e., it is not used without a defining infinitive), but may be said to be on the way: cf. Aul. 755 ergo quia sum tangere ausus haud causificor quin eam ego habeam potissimum, Bacch. 1163, Poen. 1310, Eunuch. 884. For later usage cf. Pichon s. v., and the phrases auso (rpto, cupito) potiri: Verg. Aen. VI.624, IV.217, Apul. met. IX.18 (cited by Norden, Vergil Aeneis Buch VI, p. 286). Another word with equal claim to be considered technical is ἐλπίς, ἐλπίζω (spes, spero): A. P. V.101 Ἐλπίζειν ἔξεστι; (B) Ζητεῖς δὲ τί; Νύκτα (B) φέρεις τί; A. P. V.267 ἐλπίζεις δὲ τυχεῖν, V.241, Ach. Tat. II.10 οἶνος, ἔρως, ἐλπίς, ἐρημία, Aristaen. I.2 οὐδὲ καταβαλεῖς ἡμᾶς ἀπ' ἐλπίδος μεγάλης, ibid. I.4, Philemon 138K. cf. Miles 1051 sit necne sit spes in te unost, Ovid Ars Amat. I.719 nec semper Veneris spes est profitenda roganti. Answering to spes, sensu venereo, is copia: Miles 1040-1 multae aliae idem istuc cupiunt quibus copia non est, ibid. 1229, Ter. Phorm. 113, Casina 842, (cf. Lodge s. v.). Opposed to copia in this sense is inopia (cf. p. 14, also p. 24); for the two words in combination cf. Trin. 671 quom inopiast cupias quando eius copias, tum non velis with T. L. L. IV.902. 35; 900. 79. Besides copia in various combinations (with esse, habere, etc.), potior (cf. Norden Aeneis Buch VI, p. 286) is common in this sense: cf. Ter. Haut. 322 vis amare, vis potiri, Curc. 170 ipsus se excruciat qui homo

<sup>50</sup>Van Leeuwen notes that the active πειρῶ was used in good Attic only in an erotic sense. Cf. also Neil, note on Eq. 517, where Moeris s. v. and Eustath. on Il. 338.31 are cited as authority for this restriction. For other cases cf. Aristoph. Pax 763, Theopomp. 32K. with Kock's note, Aristophont. 4K., Menand. 524K., Lys. I.12, Eur. Cycl. 581 (V. Leeuwen).

<sup>51</sup>Audeo can hardly be said to be the equivalent of τολμῶ in general usage outside the sermo, in Comedy, as the meaning "dare" is not as yet firmly established. Cf. Brix, note on Trin. 244. On the other hand, audere does not have the technical force of velle in the sermo.



quod amat videt nec potitur dum licet. In these and similar passages the verb has the distinctly technical force for which *τυγχάνω* or *ἀνύω* and sometimes *εὐτυχῶ* are used in Greek. The climactic sequence of the terms *subigito* (*audeo*), *spero*, *potior* is illustrated by such examples as Luc. Amores 3 *πειράσας μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίζεις, τυχῶν δ' ἀπολέλαυκας*, A. P. V.267 *ἐλπίζεις δὲ τυχεῖν*, cf. also Ach. Tat. I.9 *πῶς ἂν τύχοιμι τῆς ἐρωμένης*, A. P. V.75 *ἤνυσσα πολλά καμών*. It is suggestive that in Greek verbs and phrases employed for this idea, the thought is merely one of success in hitting a mark or reaching a goal proposed. The Latin idiom employs, in a weakened sense, it is true, a verb implying complete, if temporary, possession.

Occasionally, as in Eunuch. 614 *et de istac simul, quo pacto porro possim potiri, consilium volo capere tecum*, *potior* has the meaning "use" or "enjoy", for which *utor* (*χρῶμαι*) and *fruor* (*ἀπολαύω*) are more general. These two verbs are practically interchangeable, as are their Greek equivalents, though in the case of *fruor* and *ἀπολαύω* more zest is perhaps implied. *Utor* is in effect rather neutral, formal, and reminiscent of legal phraseology: Persa 128 *numquam edepol quoisquam etiam utendam dedi*, Ter. Phorm. 413 *item ut meretricem ubi abusus sis, mercedem dare lex iubet ei atque amittere?* cf. *χρῶμαι* Ach. Tat. VI.15 *ὑπονοεῖν μοι δοκεῖ σε χρησάμενον ἄπαξ, ἀφήσειν καὶ ὀκνεῖ τὴν ὕβριν*, Heliod. I.15 *Ἀρσινόη ἀκούεις που πάντως τὴν αὐλητρίδα, ταύτη ἐκέχρητο*; cf. also the expression *uxor usuraria* Amph. 498, 980. For *fruor* in a less explicit sense cf. Ter. Phorm. 165 *ut mi liceat tam diu quod amo frui*, but the noun *fructus* "use" or "enjoyment" is not on a high plane: Casina 839 *meast haec. scio sed meus fructus est prior*. Similarly Asin. 918 *alternas cum illo noctes hac frui*; cf. *ἀπολαύω, ἀπόλαυσις* Luc. Amores 3 *πειράσας μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίζεις, τυχῶν δ' ἀπολέλαυκας*, Aristaen. I.10 *ὁ δὲ οὖν τῇ παρθένῳ βραχέα νυκτομαχήσας ἐρωτικῶς τό γε λοιπὸν εἰρηναίων ἀπέλαυεν ἡδονῶν*, Alciph. II.1 *ἀεὶ τὸ παρὸν τῆς ἀπολαύσεως ὑπερτιθεμένας*, Heliod. I.15.

There remain to be considered the more pronounced euphemisms of the *sermo meretricius* in Comedy, i. e., such words as *tracto*, *tango*, *ludo*, *amo*, *quiesco*, *dormio*, *accumbo*, and the like. All these expressions are frequently employed, not only in their surface meanings, but to take the place of bolder or more vulgar terms. *Tango* and *attingo* may be explicit: Poen. 269 *quas adeo hau quisquam umquam liber tetigit neque duxit domum* ("tangere mulierem pro rem cum muliere habere dicunt Latini" Lamb.), Aul. 740 *cur id ausu's facere ut id quod non tuom esset tangeres* cf. also *tactio* infra l. 744), ibid. 755, Poen. 98, Ter. Phorm. 1018, Hec. 136, Catull. XXI.8. For the less drastic use, cf.

Rud. 426 *non licet te sic placide bellam belle tangere*, Eunuch. 373 *adsis tangas ludas*, Casina 458, Poen. 281, Miles 1092. *Attrecto* and *contrecto*, like *subigito* (the more general term), are used of caresses: Rudens 421 *Ah, nimium familiariter me attrectas*, Asin. 523, Casina 851, Poen. 698, cf. *θιγγάνω* (*tango*), *ψάω* (*tracto*) A. P. XII. 209 *Ἔστω προῦνεια πρώτα θιγήματα καὶ τὰ πρὸ ἔργων παίγνια* (Eunuchus 373 *tangas ludas*), Ach. Tat. IV.7 *ἀκοῦσαι θέλω φωνῆς χειρὸς θιγεῖν*, Ach. Tat. IV.7 *χειρὸς θιγεῖν ψαῦσαι σώματος*. For *ψάω* (drastic) cf. A. P. XII.173 *καὶ τῆς μὲν ψάω τῆς δ' οὐ θέμις* cf. *θιγγάνω* Eur. Hipp. 1044, El. 51. Parallel with Latin *intactus* (-a) or *integer* is Greek *ἄψαντος*: Cas. 832 *integrae atque imperitae huic impercito*, A. P. V.217 *χρύσεος ἀψάυστοιο διέτμαγεν ἄμμα κορείας Ζεὺς*.<sup>52</sup>

The verb *amo* is on rather a low plane in Comedy, and it may be noted that when the emphasis is on pure affection *diligo* is preferred (cf. Friedr. Catull. p. 486). It is hardly necessary to indicate the common use of *amo* for meretricious relations; characteristic examples are Poen. 176 (*dicit*) *se amare velle atque obsequi animo suo*, ibid. 603 *liberum . . . . . locum et voluptarium ubi ames, potes, pergraecere*, Pseud. 203 *qui amant a lenone* (*iuvenes*), Ter. Andr. 87 *ei tres tum simul eam amabant* (in general cf. T. L.L. I.1951.80, 1952.60 *inclus.*, Lodge s. v.). As used above, *amo* translates *ἐρῶ*, cf. *amator* (*ἐραστής*). It is used also of kisses or caresses, like *φιλῶ* Bacch. 1192b *tecum accumbam, te amabo et te amplexabor*, Aristoph. Equites 1341 *ἐραστής τ' εἰμὶ σὸς φιλῶ τέ σε*, Aristoph. Ach. 1200 *φιλήσατόν με μαλθακῶς*.

To be classed with *amo* is *ludo* (*παίζω*), to dally or toy amorously. In Eunuch. 373 *cibum una capias, adsis, tangas, ludas, propter dormias*, we have a sequence, in which the verbs increase in boldness. *Ludo* is not so definite here as in later Latin. Catullus has, LXI.211, *ludite ut libet et brevi liberos date*, Petr. 11 *invenit me cum fratre ludentem*, Mart. XI.39.7 *ludere nec nobis nec tu permittis amare*, Prop. I.10.9 and Rothstein ad loc.; cf. *παίζειν* and its compounds Aristaen. I.7 *τῇ ποθουμένη, προσπαίζων ἄμα καὶ πειρώμενος τῆς καλῆς*, A. P. V.158 *Ἐρμῶνι πιθανῇ ποτ' ἐγὼ συνεπαίζον*, ibid. V.245 *παῖζε μόνῃ τὸ φίλημα*. The noun *ludus* is used of dalliance, frequently in combination with *iocus*, and sometimes with other nouns: Pseud. 65 *iocus ludus, sermo, suavisaviatio*, Bacch. 116 (same personified), Rudens 429 *otium ubi erit, tum tibi*

<sup>52</sup>The opposite of *tango* is *abstineo*, to refrain from touching, Curc. 37 *dum ted abstineas nupta, vidua, virgine*, Ter. Hec. 139, 411, Poen. 282 (opposed to *tango*). Figuratively Miles 1309, cf. *ἀπέχομαι* Aristoph. Lysis. 124, 153, 771, 765, Men. Epitrep. 521 (447) *τοιαυτησί γὰρ οὐκ ἀπέσχετ' ἂν ἐκεῖνος, εὖ τοῦτ' οἶδ', ἐγὼ δ' ἀφέξομαι*, A. P. V.242, Alciph. I.29.3.



operam ludo et deliciae dabo, Hor. Ep. I.6.66, Catull. LXI.210. The combination ludus iocusque, or either word used separately, seems to represent Greek παίγνια: A. P. XII.209 θιγήματα καὶ τὰ πρὸ ἔργων παίγνια, Ephip. 7K. τοῖς ἡμετέροισι παιγνίοις, A. P. V.166 νέα παίγνια, ibid. V.197 Ἰλιάδος φίλα παίγνια. Compare also iocus (Pichon s. v.) and Catull. VIII.6, with Friedrich's note (p. 114). Paegnium (Παίγνιον), in the Persa, is named advisedly, as the context shows: cf. lines 204 (deliciae), 284. Compare also Aristoph. Eccl. 921 and Latin deliciae passim.

The very common verbs cubo, cubito, accumbo, and decumbo, are perhaps adequately treated in the lexica, but a few remarks may be in order. The two former are distinctly used sensu venereo in many passages in Comedy, as, for example, Bacch. 860, 896, 1009, Truc. 547, Miles 65, Amph. 132, Curc. 56. The comic coinage cubitura=coitus Cist. 379, and cubitus Amph. 1122 are to be cited in the same connection. Accumbo and decumbo are, however, frequently without such significance, even in erotic passages. The contrary may be true in such cases as Bacch. 1192a, Menaech. 476, 1142. Even here such an interpretation can hardly be insisted on, though Greek usage for κατάκειμαι and κατακλίνω supports it: cf. Aristoph. Pax 1331 χῶπως μετ' ἐμοῦ καλὴ καλῶς κατακείσει, Lysis. 904 σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ κατακλίνῃθι μετ' ἐμοῦ διὰ χρόνου, Eccl. 614. In the case of quiesco and dormio the amatory sense is rather clearly established. In Asin. 519 sq. we find the words quin pol si reposivi remum, sola ego in casteria ubi quiesco, omnis familiae causa consistit mihi. The whole simile is rather suggestive, owing to the many nautical comparisons of an erotic nature current in Greek Comedy: cf. ἐλαύνω Aristoph. Eccl. 39 (Von Leeuwen ad loc.), Plato com. 3K., the extended simile Theophilus 6K., Theogn. 457, etc., but it is not necessary to press an erotic interpretation for the entire passage. The meaning of quiesco, however, turning, as it does, upon that of sola, becomes quite clear by a comparison with Cist. 44-5 numquam ego hanc viduam cubare sivi, nam si haec non nubat, lugubri fame familia pereat. Equally in point is the recurrence of μόνη in Greek, in such phrases as A. P. V.184 ταῦτ' ἦν ταῦτ', ἐπίορκε; μόνη σὺ πάλιν μόνη ὑπνοῖς, A. P. V. 213, Alciph. I.38 κείσεται λοιπὸν μόνη, and the verb μονοκοιτῶ Aristoph. Lysis. 592 cf. secubo in Latin. Another variant is ἡσυχάζω A. P. V.133 δύνυκτας ἀφ' Ἡδυλίου . . . ἡσυχάσειν. Dormio apparently possesses an amatory sense, by way of double entendre, in Eunuch. 373 adsis, tangas, ludas, propter dormias. Aside from the fact that climactic effect would be expected, this sense for dormio is common in Elegy (cf. Pichon) and follows naturally from the erotic significance of συγ-

καταδαρθάνω, συγκατάκειμαι, etc., Aristoph. Eccl. 613, 622, 628, Alciph. I.38; cf. also Caec. 96 Rib. with Ribbeck's note ad loc.—dormitum ut eam suadet "de meretricis illecebris, ni fallor, agitur" Rib.<sup>53</sup>

Euphemistic also is the use of volo: Miles 972 cupio hercle equidem si illa volt, ibid. 1149 et illa volt et ille autem cupit, Catull. VIII.9 Nunc iam illa non volt: tu quoque impotens noli, Pichon s. v. velle, cf. A. P. V.42 Μισῶ τὴν ἀφελῇ, μισῶ τὴν σῶφρονα λίαν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ βραδέως, ἡ δὲ θέλει ταχέως, Philostr. Epist. 43.3 σύρεις μὴ θέλοντα, Theocr. XXIX.7. It will be noted that in these examples the idea of volo (θέλω) is practically "consent." The verb is often closer to βούλομαι: Asin. 542 sine me amare unum Argyrippum animi causa, quem volo; cf. Philostr. Epist. 66.1 ἦν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο. For other examples cf. Boissonade on Aristaen. pp. 303, 308, 551 and Mart. VI.40 tempora quid faciunt? hanc volo te volui. The expressions morem gerere, morigerari, morigerus, though common in erotic contexts and in a broad sense equivalent to χαρίζεσθαι, are, in general, much less explicit than the Greek verb<sup>54</sup> and often refer to other than physical compliance, cf. Most. 189, 226 (Ramsay, note ad loc. and exc. p. 126), 398, Menaech. 202, Stich. 742, Cas. 896, Amph. 842, Ter. And. 294. With Amph. 131 pater nunc intus suo animo morem gerit (cf. ibid. 981) compare χαρίζεσθαι θύμῳ Soph. Elec. 331 et al. A more drastic case is supplied by the punning passage Ter. Adel. 214-5 adolescenti morem gestum oportuit. qui potui melius, qui hodie usque os praebui (obscene, Donatus with the approval of Spengel and others). Compare παρέχω Philostr. Epist. 68. 9-10 καὶ γεωργοῖς παρέχεις σεαυτήν (=corpus volgare?) and passim.

Some euphemistic expressions which the Greek shares with later Latin erotic poetry are missing in Plautus and Terence: so opus (erotic=ἔργον) for which cf. Pichon and such cases as A. P. V.275 ἀνύσσαμεν ἔργον ἔρωτος, Ach. Tat. I.10 τὸ δ' ἔργον ζῆται πῶς γένηται σιωπῇ. It is not unlikely that Stat. Caec. 167 Rib. is a case in point: properatim in tenebris istuc confectum est opus. Possum is apparently not among verba nequiora in Comedy, despite δύναμαι A. P. XII.11, 213 and later Latin: cf. Mart. III.32.1, 76.4, XI.97.1. For facio=coeo, no cases from Plautus are recognized by the Thesaurus (T. L. L. VI.121. 40 sq.); cf.

<sup>53</sup>Some significance may be attached to Curc. 184 at meo more dormio; hic somnust mihi, but the force of hic somnust mihi is probably "this is (as good as) sleep to me."

<sup>54</sup>Cf. Schol. Pind. Pyth. 2.75 χαρίζεσθαι κυρίως τὸ συνουσιάζειν λέγεται, Alexis. 165K. ἐρρέτω μέλαινα' Ὀπώρα· πᾶσι γὰρ χαρίζεται, Aristoph. Equites 517, πολλῶν γὰρ δὴ πειρασάντων αὐτὴν ὀλίγοις χαρίσασθαι, ibid. Ach. 883-4, A. P. V.2, ibid. 233, 269, Aristaen. II.19 (p. 27 n. 48), Philostr. Epist. 68. 9-10, Theop. 29K. (1).



also T. L. L. VI.140.22 for factor (Curc. 297) where the word is cited as auctor facti, with reference to Leo's note ad loc. Outside of Comedy the use is well attested: cf. Catull. 110.2 with Friedrich's note ad loc. and T. L. L. loc. cit.<sup>55</sup> Friedrich compares πράττειν, with references to Aeschin. in Timarch. 160, Paus. 104; cf. also δρῶ Aristoph. Vesp. 1381, Thesm. 398, Eccl. 704, ἐνεργεῖν Theocr. IV.61, Alciph. III.55(19).9.

Do (dato) is technical in Plautus. The two noteworthy examples of dare=διδόναι are in paederastic passages, but the usage is one that belongs to the sermo meretricius in general: cf. Catull. 110.4 with Friedrich's note, Afranius 63 Rib. virosa (φίλανδρος) non sum, et si sum, non desunt mihi qui ultro dent, Naev. 75 Rib. quae in choro ludens datatim dat se (cf. also Isidore Orig. I.25 where this is cited with the comment "Ennius de quadam impudica"). For the Greek cf. Aristoph. Equit. 738-40 τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς . . . οὐ προσδέχει σαυτὸν δὲ . . . βυρσοπώλαισιν δίδως (cf. Van Leeuwen, note ad loc.), Theocr. XXVII.61 (Prescott, Class. Phil. 1909 p. 322). In Plautus, Aul. 637 pone id quidem pol te datare credo consuetum senex seems a clear example<sup>56</sup>, as does Casina 362 comprime istunc. Immo istunc qui didicit dare (Lodge "in m. p."). Much less evident is the old interpretation for Curc. 296-7 isti qui ludunt datatim servi scurrarum in via et datores et factores omnes subdam sub solum. Lambinus and Taubmann interpret this in malam partem, comparing Naev. 75. Support for this view can be found in the fact that scurrae occurs in an objectionable passage Poen. 612, and also in the fact that examples of datatim are mostly in erotic relations. Datatim, properly=vicissim (invicem dare), cf. Nonius p. 96, is used de re venerea Afran. 222 Rib.<sup>1</sup>, Naev. 75 (cited above), Pompon. Atell. 1 (cf. T. L. L. V.39. 35-45); without such meaning, only Nov. 22 Rib. (cf. Turnebus Adv. VI.5), though this is doubtful, and Curc. 296, the example under consideration. Waiving questions of usage, there is nothing in the passage that can not be satisfactorily explained on the theory of a ball game, adopted T. L. L. V.39.37, 42-9 (datores). Ribbeck explains the passage as referring to the game harpastum, a game of "sides" (Sitzungsb. sächs. Akad. 1879 p. 88).

Periphrases and ellipses are comparatively rare, and are limited to a few expressions like Pseud. 780 neque illud possum quod illi qui possunt

<sup>55</sup>Lambinus on Truc. 966 romabo siquis animatust facere, etc., reading the MSS si quid, adds "puto hanc cohortationem ad opus venereum pertinere." This seems reasonable. Note also that in Pseud. 780 neque ego illud possum, quod illi qui possunt solent, the omitted verb would appear to be facere. Similarly Rudens 1216 omnian licet (Lamb.).

<sup>56</sup>Cf. Taub. ad loc. and particularly Buecheler Rh. Mus. 35. 398.

solent (cf. ἐκεῖνος, δέινα); cf. hoc Most. 328 (Lamb.), Pseud. 1178 etiamne facere solitus es, scin quod loquar? Miles 1092 neque te tago neque te—taceo, Persa 227 habes nescioquid, Bacch. 897 neque ausculatur neque illud quod dici solet, Pseud. 216 ubi usque ad languorem—:

The peculiarly colloquial, or slang element of the sermo meretricius is an elusive quantity, and, for present purposes, the term has been given a rather broad acceptance. I have thought it reasonable to include under this head all homely metaphors and proverbial expressions, colloquial exaggerations, and a number of technical or quasi-technical uses of verbs, nouns, and adjectives which do not appear in later Latin outside of those authors that professedly exhibit the sermo cotidianus. For most of the diction thus far discussed Elegy offers numerous parallels, as it does for the distinctly literary element that remains to be considered. That part of the sermo amatorius in Comedy that has least in common with Elegy may most plausibly be assigned to the argot of the meretrix and the amator. I do not, however, wish to maintain that all that follows is argot; convenience has, to some extent, influenced the grouping.

Certain colloquial phrases have to do directly with the business of the meretrix. Thus rem (commercium) habere is used of intercourse: Truc. 94 cum ea quoque etiam mihi fuit commercium, Bacch. 563-4 tibi non erat meretricum aliarum Athenis copia, quibuscum haberes rem? Merc. 535 rem habet, ibid. 533 mecum rem coepit. Similarly est res Ter. Haut. 388<sup>57</sup>, Eunuch. 119, Hec. 718.

The bankrupt lover is called inanis Bacch. 517, 531, or sterilis Truc. 241, instead of the usual inops Bacch. 517; cf. Greek κενός: Call. Epigr. XXXII.1 οἶδ' ὅτι μου πλούτου κενεαὶ χεῖρες et al. So Greek αἶος is used in the same connection (of a penniless lover) Luc. dial. meretr. XIV.1 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν αἶος ἀκριβῶς, σὺ δὲ τὸν Βιθυνὸν ἔμπορον εὐρηκας ἐραστήν, ἀποκλείομαι μὲν ἐγὼ (quoted by Leo Plaut. Forsch.<sup>2</sup> p. 149, Hoelzer

<sup>57</sup>For res in plural used euphemistically for res venereae cf. Heraeus Petr. u. die Glossen p. 34 on Petr. 77 tu dominam tuam de illis rebus fecisti, Corp. Gloss. Lat. V.462.1 irquitallus puer cum primum ad res accedit, Auson. technop. 14. 7 imperium litem venerem cur una notat . . . res? Arnob. adv. nat. 3. 10, Plautus Most. 897 (Rohde JHB. 1879, 847, from whom Heraeus draws most of the foregoing examples) quaeso hercle abstine iam sermonem de istis rebus; this seems forced; surely the meaning "topics" suffices for rebus in this passage. Add to these examples Friedrich on Catullus 107. 7, particularly Miles 1437 magis metuant (moechi) minus has res studeant. Res (pl.) as in the above examples, is, of course, a different idiom from rem (commercium) habere.



p. 65). Compare Latin *aridus*=pauper (T. L. L. II.568) Mart. X.87.5 *absit cereus aridi clientis*. Again the bankrupt is stigmatized as a "dead one": Truc. 163 *dum vivit, hominem noveris; ubi mortuost quiescat*,<sup>58</sup> for *mortuos* as used here cf. (possibly) Men. Kolax 49 (Koerte) *ἀνθρωπ[ε] π[ε]ρὶ ἐρυσιν πτωχὸς ἦσθα καὶ νεκρὸς νυν[ι] δὲ πλου[τεῖς]*. It is possible also that *inermus* Caec. 67 Rib. should be classed with such expressions—*sine blanditie nihil agit in amore inermus*.

A variety of picturesque expressions is used of the meretrix and her abode. The former is a *navis praedatoria* (Menaech. 344), *stabulum flagiti* (Truc. 587), *lupa* (Epid. 403),<sup>59</sup> *fera* (Asin. 145), and her *ancilla* is a *celox* or "cruiser" (Miles 986) cf. *celocula* (a doubtful reading, cf. Lodge s. v.) *ibid.* 1006 and *λέμβος* Anaxand. 34K. The home of the meretrix or leno is referred to as *latebrosa loca* (Bacch. 430) cf. Trin. 240 (*amor*) *latebricolarum hominum corruptor*, Bacch. 56 *latebrosus locus*, Poen. 835 *tenebrae, latebrae*; we have also the expressions *damni conciliabulum* (Trin. 314), *conciliabulum*<sup>60</sup> (Bacch. 80), *desidiabula* (Bacch. 376), *lustra* (Bacch. 743, Casina 243, Asin. 867, Curc. 508, Pseud. 1107 (*lustrari*); cf. the epithets *fera, lupa*, and the common term *lupanar* (Bacch. 454). In general the *scortum* (*πόρνη*) and the meretrix (*ἐραίρα*) are carefully differentiated, although the former term is habitually used of the meretrix in general observations of a moral character, or fixed idioms such as *scortum ducere* (*scortari*); for the caste distinction cf. Nonius p. 423 M. The *scortum* is referred to as a *prostibulum* (-a, -e?) Nonius loc. cit. *prostibula, quod ante stabulum stent quaestus*

<sup>58</sup>Noveris in this passage is apparently technical in the sense of *οἰκεῖν* or *γινώσκειν* cf. Pichon s. v. *cognosco* and T. L. L. III.1504. 1 sq. Examples in Comedy are Turp. 42 Rib. *mulier meretrix, quae me quaesti causa cognovit sui*, and Plautus Most. 894 *novit erus me* (noted by Taubmann). Similarly *γινώσκω* Men. 558K. *ἔπειτα φοιτῶν καὶ κολακεύων ἐμὲ τε καὶ τὴν μητέρ' ἔγνω μ'* and elsewhere. In this case *quiescat* supports the double entendre (supra p. 32, discussion of Asin. 519); *ἡσυχάζω* (=quiesco?) is quite technical. *Quiescas* (MSS and Ussing) lends even more point to this passage. For *ἡσυχάζω* cf. A. P. V.133, 167.

<sup>59</sup>Cf. *λύκα* as name of a courtesan Amphis 23K., Tim. 25K., with Horace's *Lyce* Carm. IV.13 and III.10. Also the names *Λυκαίνιον, Λυκαίνις* in Pape (Griechische Eigennamen). Similarly, we have a procurer *Lycus* (*λύκος*) in the *Poenulus*. The wolf was proverbial for rapacity (Otto Sprichwörter p. 198 sq.), cf. the phrase *λύκου βίον ζῆν* Polyb. XVI.24.4. Cf. also Bechtel Att. Frauennamen p. 95.

<sup>60</sup>According to Goldmann (Die Poetische Personifikation in der Sprache der alten Komödiendichter) p. 19, *conciliabulum*=*σύλλογος*. So also Brix-Niemeyer on Trin. 314, citing as parallels Menaech. 988 *saltus damni*, Truc. 551 *damni via*. *σύλλογος* occurs only once in the comic fragments (Plato 90K) and is there used in a good sense. For the meaning of *conciliabulum* cf. Lambinus on Trin. 314 (apparently a mistaken idea), T. L. L. IV.38. 43-52.

*diurni et nocturni causa*, Stich. 765 *Prostibules(t) tandem? stantem stanti saviū dare amicum amicae?* Cist. ap. Non. p. 423 M., Persa 837, Aul. 285, Pomp. 148 Rib. Compare also the verb *prostare* (*stare*) Curc. 507, Stich. 765, Publil. Syr. 18 Rib., Pomp. 156 Rib., Juv. X.239, XI.172, III.65, Greek *προίστημι*, Hesych. *κεραμεικός. τόπος Ἀθήνησιν, ἔνθα αἱ πόρναι προεστήκασαν*, *ibid.* s. v. *Δημιάσι πύλαις . . . . . πρὸς γὰρ αὐτάς φασιν ἐστάναι τὰς πόρνas*, Eubul. 67K. Like *prostibulum* is *proseada*: Poen. 266, cf. Paulus 226. 2: *prosedas meretices* Plautus appellat quae ante stabula sedeant: *caedem et prostibulae*. In the same context other opprobrious epithets for the *scortum* occur: cf. *pistorum amicas* (Poen. 266), and Pseud. 188 *Hedylium . . . . . quae amica es frumentariis*<sup>61</sup>. Reliquias *alicarias* (Poen. 266) is explained Paulus p. 717 after the analogy of the foregoing: "*alicariae*" meretrices dicebantur in Campania solitae ante pistrina *alicariorum* versari *quaesti gratia*."<sup>62</sup> For status cf. *stare, prostare* (supra). *Stabulum* (Poen. 268) used for *fornix*, recalls Truc. 587 *stabulum flagiti*, Cas. 160-um *nequitiae* (epithets in both cases); cf. also Persa 418 and Suet. Iul. 49. *Pergula* in the meaning *lupanar* (*fornix*) occurs Pseud. 213; cf. moreover Catull. XXXVII *salax taberna, vosque contubernales*. In connection with *prosedas* (Poen. 266) note *sella* and *sessibulum*, and compare

<sup>61</sup>This passage is interesting as harping on the idea of guild preferences for a particular meretrix, cf. 197-8 *tu quae amicos tibi habes . . . . . Ianios, 210 Xystilis, . . . . . quous amatores olivi dynamini domi habent maxumam*. For a localized clientèle cf. Alciph. I.6.2 *κωμάζουσι γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἢ πρὸς θάλατταν νεολαία καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλο δῶρον ἀποφέρει*. (Leo Plaut. Forsch.<sup>2</sup> p. 150).

<sup>62</sup>Ussing rejects this too plausible explanation, interpreting the phrase *reliquias alicarias* as useless residue, "riffraff." Lindsay reads *reginas*, from the codex Turnebus (not, however, among the readings known to Lambin or Taubmann). "*Reginae*" "queens" would be a natural expression for the *sermo*, but aside from the fact that it would be rather milder than the other epithets in this passage, I find no parallels in Greek or Latin Comedy. Ussing likewise departs from the traditional interpretation for line 267 *schoeno delibutas servicolas sordidas* cf. *schoenicolae* Cist. 407 ap. Varro L. L. VII.64 "*ab schoeno nugatorio unguento*" and Festus 329 b 32. Ussing (following Meursius) rejects this *schoenus*, as an ointment, and interprets the phrase as "*who reek of the mat*," citing Aristoph. Plut. 541 *ἀντὶ δὲ κλίνης στιβάδα σχοίνων*. Ussing comments "*et schoenicolae appellantur meretrices talibus cubilibus consuetae*." For the *teges* or rush mat made of the *iuncus* (*σχοῖνος*) cf. Mayor on Juvenal IV.8. In defense of the traditional interpretation it may be said that *delibutus* is properly used of liquids, particularly perfumes, cf. Thes. L. L. V.442.47 where this passage is cited "*Plaut. Poen. 267 schoeno-utas (i. unguento cf. Titius or. frg. Macr. sat. III.16.14 delibuti unguentis, etc.)*." Compare also Cato De re rust. 113.1, in directions for imparting a bouquet to wine, *suffito serta et schoeno et palma, quam habent unguentarii*, *ibid.* 105.2. The fragrance of the *calamus* was well known.



Juv. III.136 et dubitas alta Chionen deducere sella (Ussing), with Mayor's note ad loc. Similar in tone to Poen. 266 sq. is Cist.405-8 = Plaut. ap. Varro de l. l. VII.64 non quasi nunc haec sunt hic limaces lividae febriculosae, miserae amicae osseae diobolares, schoeniculae, miraculae, cum extritis talis, cum todillis crusculis. On limaces Varro loc. cit. says: limax ab limo quod ibi vivit,<sup>63</sup> but, for modern ideas cf. Walde s. v. Ussing, on Bacchides 13, limaces viri, derives the word from lima, explaining the phrase, "viri alterum atterentes, quales v. c. parasi." The other epithets offer little room for discussion. For diobolares cf. Poen. 270 and supra p. 19.

A number of adjectives have peculiar meanings, perhaps colloquial, in erotic contexts. Turpis (αἰσχυρός)=ugly Most. 288 turpi mulieri is perhaps too common to require comment; for ωραίος contrasted with αἰσχυρός cf. Anaxand. 52K.9 ἀλλ' ἔλαβεν αἰσχυράν . . . ἀλλ' ἔλαβεν ωραίαν τις, Philemon 170K. σαπρὰν γυναῖκα δ' ὁ τρόπος εὐμορφὸν ποιεῖ. It is possible that malus bears the same meaning Bacch. 1161 haud malast mulier, but this is open to question; the older commentators (Lamb., Taub.) explain "non invenusta," as does Ussing, in double entendre. But whatever mala means in Bacch. 1161, it certainly does not refer to appearance in the next line, where it balances nihili, pol vero ista mala et tu nihili. In Bacch. 1139 b we have with reference to the old men (as oves), stultae atque (haud) malae videntur (haud solus B in marg. omittit Ussing). The negative is supported by 1131 sine omni malitia, which might also have accounted for its insertion; malitia can hardly mean anything but cunning, duplicity, with a bad connotation: cf. Persa 238 malitia tecum certare miseriast, Epid. 546 muliebris adhibenda . . . malitia est, Miles 880 mala esse et fraudulentia, ibid. 887 male atque malitiose with Lorenz' note, Truc. 131, Ter. Hec. 203 (Hoelzer p. 76). Then in Bacch. 1139 b, reading the negative, haud malae should mean guileless or innocent. In default of evidence for the meaning "not bad looking" in Bacch. 1161 we should perhaps understand the phrase as meaning "she looks harmless." The idea of slyness is sometimes transferred from the words malus, malitia, to the proverbial mala merx<sup>64</sup>, originally commercial and opposed to proba merx, cf. Poen. 342 proba mers facile emptorem reperit (cf. 341 invendibili merci); of a leno, as a "bad lot" Pseud. 954; of age Menaech.

<sup>63</sup>Note, in this connection, Meursius' emendation of Poen. 267 schoeno delibutas to coeno delibutas (cf. caeno conlitis 835).

<sup>64</sup>Cf. Brix on Miles 895 "sprichwörtlich und plebejisch, 'eine leichte Ware.'" Otto op. cit. p. 200 n. 2 "mala merx braucht Plautus von Leuten die wenig taugen."

758; of women, with slyness or deceit emphasized Cist. 727 mala mers, era, haec et callidast, Miles 894, Persa 238, Truc. 409, Casina 754 b; cf. simple merces Miles 1023 pedetemptim tu has scis tractari solitas esse huiusmodi merces. The phrase mala (nequam) bestia, proverbial (Otto p. 55), can hardly be classed in the sermo, as it is used outside of erotic contexts as a term of abuse for both men and women: cf. Thes. L. L. II.1939. 81 sq. In Plautus the term is used of women Bacch. 55 mala tu's bestia (of a meretrix), Cist. 728 imitatur nequam bestiam et damnificam; cf. κακὸν θηρίον Bion IV.13 κακὸν ἐντι τὸ θηρίον, Anaxilas 22K. ἐξωλέστερον (ἑταῖρα), Men. 488K. μέγιστόν ἐστι θηρίον γυνή.

Nequam (nequitia) seems to be the colloquial word for lewdness or wantonness: Bacch. 111-12 Lycurgus mihi quidem videtur posse hic ad nequitiam adducier, ibid. 1180 Vidi ego nequam homines verum te neminem deteriore, Pomp. 131 Rib. In later Latin cf. Pichon s. v. and Mart. III.69.5 nequam iuvenes facilesque puellae, III.91.4. insignis forma nequitiaque puer, IV.42.4. Frugi, in erotic contexts, is the opposite of nequam, i. e., "continent" cf. Poen. 721 (720) ut frugi sies. quid si animus esse non sinit, with Ussing ad loc., similarly Asin. 857 siccum, frugi, continentem, amantem uxoris maxime, and, in contrast ibid. 859 madidum, nihili, incontinentem atque osorem uxoris suae, Asin. 856 virum frugi rata, Mart. VI.21.8 tam frugi Iuno vellet habere Iovem. In Poen. 178, nequam facere apparently resumes amare velle atque obsequi animo suo (176) and is synonymous with stulte facere Bacch. 57 apud me si quid stulte facere cupias prohibeam; cf. supra 54 quid metuis? ne tibi lectus malitiam (=nequitia?) apud me suadeat. The choice of these expressions instead of stronger terms to express licentious conduct does not originate in an effort to be euphemistic; ideas of thrift and discretion were apparently stronger than the purely moral sense, and it is this sort of commercial morality that accounts for the erotic meaning of frugi, nequam, etc., (cf. supra p. 21, on damna).

The adjective putidus is used like Greek σαπρός of age and impotence: Bacch. 1163 tun, homo putide, amator istac fieri aetate audes, cf. Aristoph. Vesp. 1380-1 νομίσας σ' εἶναι σαπρὸν κούδεν δύνασθαι δρᾶν, Pax 698. With Bacch. 1163 (homo putide) cf. nihili esse ibid. 1188, 1207, Persa 179 certo is quidem nilist qui nil amat; the phrase is an elusive one, but in these examples the idea of lack of virility seems consistently present: cf. Eupolis 221K. ὥς μόλις ἀνήρρησ' οὐδέν ἐσμεν οἱ σαπροί, also V. Leeuwen on Vesp. 1343.

Fortis in Bacch. 216 sed Bacchis etiam fortis tibi visast and Miles 1106 ecquid fortis visa est, invites comment. According to the ancients



fortis=formosa, so Serv. on Verg. Aen. IV.149 Quidnam fortis est? id est pulchra, Nonius 306 M. Fortis rursum formosa Plautus Milite (quoting Miles 1106, cf. supra)<sup>65</sup>. Modern commentators (cf. Brix, Lorenz on Miles 1106) seem to be justified in regarding fortis as meaning rather strong, robust, cf. such adjectives as "strapping," "buxom," "husky." This meaning is more consistent with the transferred meanings of fortis in Plautus and elsewhere: cf. Trin. 1133 tam fortem familiam, Nonius p. 306 divitem et copiosam. In Bacch. 216 sq. the comparison to Juno (217) ni nactus Venerem essem, hanc Iunonem dicerem seems to suggest stately proportions for Bacchis. In the Afranius passage cited by Lorenz (156 Rib.) formosa virgost . . . . praeterea fortis, the meaning of the adjective is debatable, but it is certainly not the same as formosa. Fortis is applicable also to men: Miles 1111 Quid is? equi fortis? Lodge submits as possible examples of fortis "de corporis forma" Rudens 314 and Miles 10; the former seems to be a possible case, but the latter, where the word is coupled with fortunatus, is apparently out of the question. There is hardly ground for saying, as Lodge does, that fortis when used of appearance is sometimes in malam partem, apart from the fact that a query like Miles 1111 would doubtless be pronounced with a leer.<sup>66</sup>

Proverbial expressions are comparatively rare in the sermo amatorius of Comedy, and popular metaphor is infrequent, and limited to a few stock figures. Clearly proverbial is the expression Asin. 874 alienum fundum arat, cf. Theogn. 582 ἀλλοτρίην ἀροῦν ἀρουραν; for numerous other examples cf. Lid. and Scott on ἀρουρα, Men. Perikeir. 436 γνησίων παιδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ, Aristaen. I.19. The transfer of agricultural activities to res venereae has been a prolific source of imagery, at all times. For other examples in Plautus cf. Epid. 557 Qui per voluptatem tuam in me aerumnas obsevisi gravem, Truc. 145 sq. (discussed p. 54). In the above proverb (Asin. 874), the word to be stressed is fundus.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup>Lambinus on Bacch. 216 is worth quoting for its own sake. Accepting formosa, he says: fortassis . . . . quia formosa mulier quovis viro, quantumvis robusto ac valido, potentior atque validior est (quotes Anacreon to this effect).

<sup>66</sup>On Persa 846 hicinest, qui fuit quondam fortis Leo (crit. note ad loc.) quotes, aptly enough, πάλαι ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι. If the Greek adage suggested the Plautine phrase, as seems likely, the Latin here would mean "who has seen better days."

<sup>67</sup>Hortus Miles 194 is wrongly suspected, as it seems, by the older commentators, but with fundus (ἀρουρα) cf. hortus (κῆπος) Priap. V.4, κῆπος Diog. L. II.116, μανιόκηπος Anacr., 156. Similarly saltus, Casina 922 saepit veste id qui estis (see Lamb. ad loc.) ubi illum saltum video obsaeptum, and also Taub. on Curc. 56 pandit saltum (wrongly suspected). Additional material on this sort of popular metaphor may be found in Lamb. and Taub. on the Plautine passages mentioned, as also in Thes. L. L. II.627. 55-64 (aro), and Latin lexica s. v. sulcus.

With this passage compare Curc. 35, where the prostitute is compared to a public highway, as in Callimachus and Propertius; Curc. 35 nemo ire quemquam publica prohibet via, dum ne per fundum saeptum facias semitam, cf. Prop. II.23.1 sq. cui fuit indocti fugienda haec semita vulgi, ipsa petita lacu nunc mihi dulcis aqua est, Callim. ep. 28 (also involving the public well) οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ χαίρω τίς πολλοὺς ὧδε καὶ ὧδε φέρει, μισῶ καὶ περίφοιτον ἐρώμενον οὐδ' ἀπὸ κρήνης πίνω. Akin to this is the Pythagorean maxim τὰς λεωφόρους μὴ βαδίζειν cited Diog. Laer. VIII.1.17 (Cobet), Arist. frg. 192, though this σύμβολον had not apparently a direct erotic application. The πόρνη is called λεωφόρος and πανδοσία cf. Anacr. 157, Suidas s. v. Μυσάχνη.

Proverbial also is the phrase Curc. 50 iamne fert iugum? The young girl was popularly compared to an unbroken filly or heifer (πῶλος, δάμαλις, etc.) cf. Epicr. 9K. ὡς δάμαλις, ὡς παρθένος ὡς πῶλος ἀδμής, A. P. V.292, Eur. Hipp. 546, with Harry's note, Petr. 25 posse taurum tollere qui vitulum sustulerit with Greek adj. ἀταύρωτος and Aesch. Ag. 1126 ἄπεχε τῆς βοῦς τὸν ταῦρον, Call. Epigr. 45 τῇ δεκάτῃ ἦλθεν ὁ βοῦς ὑπ' ἄροτρον ἐκούσιος. Similarly Miles 304 quam mox horsum ad stabulum iuvenix recipiat se a pabulo, Cist. 308 quamquam vetus cantherius sum, etiam nunc, ut opinor, adhinnire equolam possum ego hanc, si detur sola soli; with equola compare Eubul. 84K. πῶλους Κύπριδος (of courtesans). The verb inruo Cas. 891 should perhaps be referred to this form of comparison, as the noun admissarius Miles 1112 ad equas fuisti scitus admissarius (cf. Casina 811 edepol ne tu, si equos esses, esses indomabilis, etc.). This latter form of comparison is employed, grossly, Miles 1059 nisi huic verri adfertur merces, etc.

In addition to these expressions a few others of a metaphorical nature occur. Some are mere suggestions: Miles 625 nil amas, umbra's amantum magis quam amator, Pleusicles, cf. Men. Incert. 554K. ἂν ἔχη φίλου σκιάν. Umor (sucus), exaresco, are used of res venereae: Miles 640 Et ego amoris aliquantum habeo umorisque etiam in corpore, nequedum exarui ex amoenis rebus et voluptariis, ibid. 787 lautam vis an quae nondum sit lauta? Sic consucidam. Cf. the opposite siccus, used of bodily soundness, the result of temperate living (cf. Catull. 23.12, with Friedrich's note) or of austere habits, as in Asin. 857 siccum, frugi, continentem, Afran. 61 Rib. sicca, sana, sobria, virosa non sum, cf. Gr. ξηρός Aristoph. Vesp. 1452 ξηροὶ τρόποι. With Miles 641 (exarui) cf. ἀναίνω Aristoph. 612K. ἐνταῦθα δὴ παιδάριον ἐξαναίνεται ὥστ' ἔγωγ' ἠβαινόμην θεώμενος. For siccus cf. also Lucil. 239 Marx and note, Ter. Eun. 318, Priap. 32 B. The comparison of old age to death



is a commonplace in Comedy, as well as elsewhere: Bacch. 1152 quam odiosumst mortem amplexari, Miles 627-8 tam tibi ego videor oppido Acherunticus? Tam capularis? Cf. A. P. V.21 (spoken of the old age of the courtesan) ὡς δὲ τάφον νῦν σε παρερχόμεθα, also Aristoph. Eccl. 996, sq., 1030-1036. Divortium is used of separation from the meretrix (cf. supra p. 18 on duco) Truc. 420; similarly nubo=coeo Cist. 45 numquam ego hanc viduam cubare sivi, nam si haec non nubat, etc., cf. Verg. Ecl. VIII.18 coniugis indigno Nisae deceptus amore, where coniunx=puella amata (γυναικα Theocr. VI.26) ibid. 66 where coniunx=iuvenis amatus, Aen. VII.189, cf. also ἄνδρα Theocr. II.3,42, νυμφεύω Eubul. 67K. ὅστις λέχη γὰρ σκότια νυμφεύει λάθρα,<sup>68</sup> Luc. Asin. c. 32, Call. H. in Del. 240, A. P. V.94. Sororcula as applied to the meretrix Cist. 451 germana mea sororcula. repudio te fraterculum, suggests, at least, the later use of soror and frater as verba nequiora cf. Mart. II.4, X.65, XII.20, Petr. 127. A colloquial expression is suggested by Bacch. 1015 ego animo cupido atque oculis indomitis fui, cf. Alciph. I.6.2 ῥάδιος ὦν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν ἀφροδίσιον κεχυμένος (quasi qui oculos emissicios habeat nec possit irretortis spectare formosas, Bergl.), cf. also A. P. XII.106 ἔν μοι μόνον οἶδε τὸ λίχρον ὄμμα, Μνίσκον ὄρᾶν.

The sermo meretricius, so called, is not devoid of a certain refinement, but, with its numerous euphemisms, it combines a few drastic expressions, apparently colloquial, which, by their candor, seem to claim a somewhat lower origin than most of the terms so far discussed. Paederastic terms will be omitted from this discussion, but some others should be mentioned, as offering a field for interpretation. Cado (Persa 656 libera eris actutum, si crebro cades) is apparently after the Greek πίπτω used as the passive of βάλλω in a drastic erotic sense, cf. Aristoph. Ach. 275 καταβαλόντα καταγιγαρτίσαι ("tumble" Starkie).<sup>69</sup> No other case of cado in this sense occurs, cf. T. L. L. III. 22. 73-5. conturbare (Casina 465) is paederastic; Lamb. ad loc. discusses similar phrases. On inclinabo (Persa 737 inclinabo me cum liberta tua) cf. Leo n. ad loc. "verbum ambigue ductum a κλίνη cf. 765 quin lectis nos actutum commendamus?"; not necessarily in mal. part. here but

<sup>68</sup>Cf. also Eub. 67K. καὶ μὴ λαθραίαν κύπριν αἰσχίστην νόσων πασῶν διώκειν and Men. 535K., apparently different versions of a proverbial sentiment against illicit love, cf. Curc. 49 malus clandestinus est amor, damnum est merum.

<sup>69</sup>Professor Prescott, who suggests this possible Greek background, i. e., πεσοῦσα πολλάκις εἰς ἐλευθερίαν πεσῇ, or the like, adds that Plautus' rather pointless verse may be due to the fact that in libertatem cadere was not yet good Latin, cf. T. L. L. s. v. cadere. For the use of πίπτω cf. Alexis 293K. μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀναπεσεῖν ἐκέλευον αὐτὴν παρ' ἐμέ.

cf. Juv. IX.26, X.2.24. Ferio (Bacch. 1173) non metuo ne quid mihi doleat quod ferias, is certainly among verba nequiora, cf. the preceding line 1172 b Malum tibi magnum dabo iam. patiar (Gr. πείσομαι tech.); with ferio cf. τύπτω (χαμαιτύπη), παίω Aristoph. Pax 874, ibid. fr. 967K., κρούω Anec. Bek. 101, Aristoph. Eccl. 990; so κρούειν πέπλον (tunicam pertundere) Eur. Cycl. 328. With tero (Capt. 888) cf. τρίβω used literally Herodas V.61-2 (sc. we will see you) τὰς Ἀχαικὰς κεινὰς ἄς πρῶν ἔθηκας τοῖς σφυροῖσι τρίβοντα: in double entendre, Aristoph. Vespaie 1343 w. scholia, Ach. 1149 (ἀνατρίβω); so, in Latin Prop. III. 11.30 Petr. 87. In the phrase caput limare, the origin of the verb is somewhat uncertain, cf. Walde s. v. limax, and supra p. 38; the relation to limus is supported by Poen. 292-3 At vide sis; cum illac numquam limavi caput . . . . . limum petam (ex piscina), . . . . . ut illi et tibi limem caput; but, as the verb is generally used, it seems to be synonymous with copulare, iungere, etc., in the sense of "join" cf. Nonius p. 334. 11 limare etiam dicitur coniungere (cf. ibid. 333 limare exquirere et delenire . . . . . a lima dicitur). Coniungo, copulo, conduplico, etc., are used in phrases with caput and corpus in the sermo: Poen. 343 caput et corpus copulas? Pseud. 1261 corpora conduplicant, Miles 1334 capita inter se nimis nexa hisce habent. Limare caput, to join, "rub" heads=osculari is similar to the above examples. The meaning osculari fits the phrase in every occurrence, cf. T. L. L. III.387, 1-7, Liv. Andr. trag. 28, Caec. 140, Turp. 112 Rib., Plaut. Bacch. frg. XVII, Poen. 292, Merc. 537, Scem. frg. 1, cf. particularly Merc. 537 neuter stupri causa caput limaret, and Cas. 887 inlecebram stupri principio eam savium posco.

Another debatable phrase is caput prurit Bacch. 1193; the context suggests a special erotic application, which Plautine usage hardly confirms. Other phrases with prurio are Amph. 295 dentes pruriunt (anticipation of physical violence), Persa 32a scapulae pruriunt (application as above), Miles 397 dorsus prurit (same force), Poen. 1315 num tibi, adulescens, malae aut dentes pruriunt qui huic es molestus, an malam rem quaeritas? The apparent meaning in this last is "you must lack instinct to warn you of approaching danger, or are you actually looking for trouble?" The verb prurio apparently suggests the retort 1317-18 qur non adhibuisti, dum istaec loquere, tympanum? Nam te cinaedum esse arbitror magis quam virum, cf. Stich. 760-1 lepidam et suavem cationem aliquam occipito cinaedicam, ubi perpruriscamus usque ex unguiculis. Otto, s. v. dorsus, quotes all four examples, referring also to supercilium; Pseud. 107 supercilium salit, Theocr. III.37. If I have not



inferred too much from cinaedus (Poen. 1318), Poen. 1315 belongs with the examples under digitus in Otto (p. 116) where we note that an itching head apparently was taken as a sign of impudicitia; in all Otto's examples digitus (unus) is emphasized; he therefore concludes that an extreme solicitude for coiffures was the sign of the cinaedus, following in this the (mistaken?) scholiast on Juv. IX. 133 qui digito scalpunt uno caput cinaedi cum muliebri more componunt caput. For the correct idea cf. T. L. L. III.390. 20-31: "Plaut. Bacch. 1193 -t prurit (senis libidinosi), Lucil. 883 -t scabit, pedes legit (Hor. Sat. I.10.71) inde scalpere caput proverbialiter fere proprium impudicorum". Ussing (after Taub.) seems mistaken in taking Bacch. 1193 merely of hesitation, uncertainty. Marx on Lucilius 883 has additional illustrations for Ussing's idea, but his examples would hardly bear on the Plautine passage. Prurio Bacch. 1193, Poen. 1315 sq. in double entendre, perprurisco (Stich. 761), are parallel to Greek κνησιῶ: Aristoph. Eccl. 919 "Ἡδὴ τὸν ἀπ' Ἰονίας τρόπον τάλαινα κνησιῶς (cf. Blaydes, V. Leeuwen ad loc.).

The lingua duplex is another recurring phrase: Asin. 695 fac proserpentem bestiam me duplicem ut habeam linguam, Pseud. 1260ilingui manifesto, cf. Aristoph. Ach. 1201 (φίλημα) ἐπιμανδαλωτόν, Thesm. 132 the kiss with bolt shot, i. e., with protruding tongue; the Latin phrasing is different. The lingua duplex occurs also Persa 299 tamquam proserpens bestia, of glibness and deceit; on the basis of these examples we may regard Asin. 695 and Pseud. 1260 as punning passages. For proserpens bestia cf. also Stich. 724.

Certain common nouns have, or are said to have, indecent meanings, for the most part in punning passages. So vasa=testes (for the latter used in a pun cf. Curc. 32) Poen. 862 facio quod manifesti moechi hau ferme solent. Quid id est? refero vasa salva. Cf. Gr. σκεῦος (medical) Ael. N. A. 17. 11, Anth. Plan. 243, Taub. on Pseud. IV.7.92, Burmann on Petr. 24, Lipsius Antiq. lect. lib. I.8; with Poen. 862 cf. Anax. 22K.10-11 εἰς μόνος δ' ἰππεύς τις αὐτῆς τὸν βίον παρείλετο. πάντα τὰ σκεύη γὰρ ἔλκων ᾤχετ' ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας<sup>70</sup>; cf. also Priapeia LXVIII.24 grandia Dulichii vasa petisse viri.

A number of false interpretations center about the word peculium, alleged to mean membrum virile in Plautus. The most plausible case for this meaning is afforded by Pseud. 1187-1190 quid somniatis? mea

<sup>70</sup>I do not find this interpretation suggested for the Anaxilas passage, but it seems to fit the context; for ἰππεύς cf. Pomp. Prostibulum 155 Rib. quae peditibus nubere poterant, equites sperant spurcae.

quidem haec habeo omnia meo peculio empta. nempe quod femina summa sustinent (cf. Lamb. Taub. ad loc.). Ussing rejects these lines, on the ground that this meaning for peculium is later than Plautus.<sup>71</sup> The other alleged occurrences are not convincing. In Most. 253 dabo aliquid hodie peculi—tibi, Philematium, the ordinary meaning of peculium is quite adequate, "I will hand over a little something to salt away—to you, Philematium"; the tone of the passage and the entire context forbid obscenity. The adj. peculiaris carries no bad connotation, cf. its use in a sentimental passage Asin. 540-1 etiam opilio qui pascit, mater, alienas oves aliquam habet peculiarem, qui spem soletur suam, Merc. 524-5 ovem tibi...dabo....peculiarem, Aul. 466 (gallus gallinaeus) anu peculiaris, Persa 201 (ancilla) peculiaris. The verb peculio is used in m. p. Persa 192 scelus tu pueri's atque ob istanc rem ego aliqui te peculiabo, cf. impudicitia in 193, also 284-6, but the suggestion is innate in the context rather than the verb. Cf. also Poen 843 expeculatus. Even later usage for peculium is doubtful. Petr. 8 peculio prolato, has been absurdly misinterpreted; it can hardly mean anything but pecunia prolata. Auct. Priap. LII.7 pulcre pensilibus peculiati has no significance, as the phrase would be equally pointed with praediti used in place of peculiati. Retia (Ep. 216) has been suspected, but the meaning seems to be as Naudet states it "Retia haec profecto fuere quae secum gerebant lenocinia voluptarii pulchrique corporis (cf. also literal interpretation there suggested); cf. Aristoph. ap. Phrynich. Bekk. p. 18, 22 αἱ τῶν γυναικῶν παγίδες—τοὺς κόσμους καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας αἷς χρώνται αἱ γυναῖκες, Luc. Dial. meretr. 11 τὴν ἑτέραν (ἐταίραν), ἣν Παγίδα ἐπικαλοῦσιν.

In Poen. 690 (hospitium quaeritare) a muscis, the joke, if one is intended, is not apparent. Leo compares Truc. 64, Merc. 361 (Truc. 284), referring also to Lindsay, Archiv. f. L. L. VIII.442 (where Lindsay postulates a slang form ἀμύξεις L. amussis, used sensu obsceno). Lindsay also compares (Class. R. X.333) Hesych. s. v. μύσχον—τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ γυναικεῖον μόριον. These suggestions are hardly convincing, and the passage remains obscure. It is perhaps more to the point to compare the name Μυῖα, used for an Attic hetaira, Luc. Μυῖας ἐνκ. 11, and also (perhaps) on a black figured lekuthos in the British Museum (Bechtel,

<sup>71</sup>Peculium may perhaps be taken in its ordinary meaning here, thus making it unnecessary to reject the lines. Why not understand sustinent=alunt (merentur)? i. e., peculium quod per stuprum alitur, cf. corpus corpore alere ἐργάζεσθαι τῷ σώματι, etc.; for this meaning of sustinet cf. Poen. prol. 90 quantum hominum terra sustinet (cf. Il. VI.142 εἰ δὲ τίς ἐσσι βροτῶν οἱ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν).



Die attischen Frauennamen p. 94). For the idea in this name Bechtel compares Curc. 499 sq. item genus est lenonium inter homines meo quidem animo ut muscae, culices, cimices pedesque pulicesque: odio et malo et molestiae, bono usui estis nulli. Cf. Bechtel, loc. cit., where other similar names are mentioned.

For the pun on concha Rudens 702 sq. cf. Bechtel op. cit. p. 91. So Jahn (Bericht d. sächs. Ges. 1853 p. 18). Ussing contra.

A possible double entendre is contained in Bacch. 73 sq. ah nimium ferus es. †Mihi sum. †Malacissandus es. Equidem tibi do hanc operam. †Ah, nimium pretiosa's operaria. Ferus may translate *ώμος*, used of temperament Xen. Anab. II-6-12 *χαλεπός καὶ ώμος*, Mem. III.16, Luc. Dial. meretr. IV.4, etc.; in a literal sense, of leather, Xen. Anab. IV.7.22 *γέρρα δασειῶν βοῶν ώμοβόεια*; cf. *ώμοδέψης* Suidas s. v. *Σεμίραμις*, *ώμοβύρσος* Plut. Crass. 25. With malacissandus cf. *μαλάσσω* figuratively = mollio Eur. Or. 1201, Alc. 771; of working leather Schol. Plat. Conv. p. 221 E *βυρσοδέψας τοὺς τὰς βύρσας ἐργαζαμένους καὶ μαλάττοντας*, cf. *δερματομαλάκτης* Phot. s. v. *σκυτοδέψης*; of administering a beating Aristoph. Eq. 388. Operaria, opera, etc., suggest the *δημιουργός*. For the pun cf. lex. s. v. *δέφω*.

Less ambiguous than the foregoing are Pseud. 24 scando (*ἀναβαίνω*), Men. Perikeir. 234, Aristoph. 329K., dirumpo Cas. 326, cf. *διαμηρίζω* Aristoph. Aves 669, 706, 1254, moveri (= crisso) Asin. 788, Catull. XV.11, cf. *κινῶ, βινῶ* Aristoph. Nubes 1103, 1371, Pax 867, 903, Lysis. 227, etc. Pernoctare, not in itself particularly suggestive (cf. Ter. Hec. 539) occurs in the coarse combination Truc. 278 cumque ea noctem in stramentis pernoctare perpetim, cf. Aristoph. Nubes 1069 *ἐν τοῖς στρώμασιν τὴν νύκτα παννυχίζειν*, ibid. fr. 695K. The Greek verb is frequent in an erotic sense; cf. also the name *Παννυχίς* Luc. Dial. meretr. IX (Bechtel op. cit. p. 125).

## III

In discussing what I have termed the sermo meretricius, I have been concerned with the realistic and colloquial elements of the sermo amatorius in Comedy. Under this head I have included some metaphors and similes which seemed distinctly popular or proverbial. There remain to be considered the more elaborate metaphor and simile of Comedy, that which shows most points of contact with poetry, and would appear more distinctly literary in origin. Much, in fact, of this imagery, was a manifest legacy from the lyric and tragic poets, and was destined to be handed down, in turn, to Elegy. Such imagery is naturally rather familiar, and many of these commonplaces have already been discussed by Leo, Hoelzer, and others. Some of this material I have felt obliged to include, because of its relation to other topics, or in the interest of completeness. My intention has been to include all that has special significance in regard to the erotic diction of Comedy, and to omit such passages as contribute nothing from this point of view.

The conventional Cupido (Amor), with his wings, bow and arrows, his paramount power, and his blind vindictiveness, pervades Comedy (cf. Hoelzer p. 10 sq.). The ingenuity of the Comic poets makes him a torturer: Cist. 203 sq. credo ego amorem primum apud homines carnuficinam commentum (Hoelzer p. 55-6); his functions as carnufex are described in the same context: cf. cruciabilitatibus animi (205) and 206 sq. iactor, crucior, agitor, stimulator, vorsor in amoris rota, etc.; cf. also (on carnuficina) Capt. 597 *pix atra agitet apud carnuficem tuoque capiti inluceat*. Incidentally Cupido is a *εὐρέτης*, i. e., (amore) primum apud homines carnuficinam commentum; for the *εὐρήματα* in general cf. Leo Plaut. Forsch.<sup>2</sup> 151 sq. The comparison vorsor in amoris rota (Cist. 207) is apparently Greek: cf. for the literal idea Aristoph. Plutus 875-6 *ἐπὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ γὰρ δέ σ' ἐκεῖ στρεβλούμενον εἰπεῖν ἃ πεπανούργηκας*, Lysis. 845-6 (a debased comparison), Ranae 615 sq. For *στρέβλη* used figuratively cf. Diphil. 88K. *λύπας, μερίμνας, ἀρπαγὰς, στρέβλας*. Stimulator (Cist. 207) suggests the *κέντρον*; cf. also Bacch. 1159 *cor stimulo foditur*, and stimulator, a temptress, Most. 203-219. For Gr. *κέντρον* cf. A. P. V.220 *καὶ τὸ θαλυκρὸν κείνο κατημβλύνθη κέντρον ἐρωμανίης*, ibid. V.247 *κεντρομανὲς δ' ἄγκιστρον ἔφν στόμα*, cf. also Eur.Hipp.39 *κέντροις ἐρωτος*, Plat. Republ. 573 A, (other examples in Hoelzer p. 55). Similarly used is *ἀκίς* Timoth. 2K. *ἔρως . . . ἡ φρενῶν ἀκίς*, A. P. XII.76 *πόθων ἀκίδες*. The idea in such comparisons is sometimes a sting: cf. Theocr. XIX, where Cupid and the bee are com-



pared.<sup>72</sup> A weaker comparison is involved in the verb *κνίζω*: Luc. Dial. meretr. X.4 *κέκνισται γὰρ κάκεϊνος τῆς Νεβρίδος*, Theocr. IV.59.<sup>73</sup>

Love is apparently personified as a poisoner Cist. 298 *video ego te Amoris valde tactum toxico*<sup>74</sup>; the idea is probably a philtre: cf. Eur. Hipp. 509 *ἐστὶν... φίλτρα μοι θελκτῆρια ἔρωτος*, Alciph. I.37.5 *ἀλλ' ἀμφιβάλλειν εἴωθε τὰ φίλτρα καὶ ἀποσκήπτειν εἰς ὄλεθρον*. Love is a malignant caupo Trin. 673 *insanum malumst hospitio devorti ad Cupidinem*, a comparison not paralleled in Greek, so far as I can discover. The speed of love is compared to the flight of a missile from a ballista Trin. 668 *itast amor ballista ut iacitur: nil sic celerest neque volat*; possibly a Latin comparison, although the swiftness of love is a Greek commonplace (cf. Hoelzer p. 14). We have a rain of love Most. 142, in a simile perhaps suggested by the Zeus and Danae myth, so familiar in Greek and Latin erotic poetry<sup>75</sup>; love as a stain Poen. 198 *inest amoris macula huic homini in pectore*, cf. *eluere* (*amorem*) Prop. III.24.10, and love as a disease Cist. 71, etc. (Hoelzer pp. 43-4). The familiar bow and arrows occur Persa 25 *sagitta Cupido cor meum transfixit* (cf. Hoelzer p. 55). Less trite is the spike of Love Asin. 156 *fixus clavo Cupidinis*, on which compare Leo Plaut. Forsch.<sup>2</sup> p. 154 n. 4. Love is referred to as a sauce Casina 220 sq., and the loved one is the food of the lover Bacch. 23, Merc. 744, Curc. 186.

The combination of joy and pain in love which the Greek expressed by *γλυκύπικρον* is developed in Latin by the gall and honey figure. The Latin passages for this dulce (*mel*) and amarum (*fel*) oxymoron, with adequate Greek comparisons, are cited by Hoelzer p. 41.

The heart is regularly the seat of the affections: Miles 1088 *cor . . . . saliat* (*cor* is perhaps merely physical here, and the

<sup>72</sup>For *aculeus*, outside of an erotic context, cf. Trin. 1000 *iam dudum meum ille pectus pungit aculeus*, Bacch. 63 *aculeata*. For stimulus Truc. 853 *ne ista stimulum longum habet*.

<sup>73</sup>Apocryph. of the tortures of love, the fires of love are as trite a figure in Comedy as elsewhere, cf. Asin. 919 *ex amore tantum est homini incendium*, Merc. 590 (cf. Trin. 675 *facis incendium*, Lamb., Prescott Class. Phil. V.103-4), Ter. And. 308, Haut. 367. So *πῦρ* A. P. V.50 *πῦρ δὲ φέρειν κύπριδος οὐ δύναμαι*, *ibid.* V.6 *ὁ μὲν ἀρσενικῶν θέρεται πυρί*. The loved one is sometimes regarded as the flame: Eun. 85 *accede ad ignem hunc, iam calesces plus satis*. The lover burns with passion: Merc. 600 *pectus ardet*, *ibid.* 591. So *καίω* A. P. V.5 *ἄμφω καίόμεθα*, Alciphron I.13 *φλέγομαι*, A. P. V.10 *καταφλέγω*, Aristoph. Lysis. 221 *ἐπιτύφομαι*.

<sup>74</sup>For the personification cf. *ibid.* 300 *cave sis cum Amore tu umquam bellum sumpseris*. On *amor* vs. *Amor* in Elegy cf. Pichon p. 66.

<sup>75</sup>Cf. also *στάζω* Eur. Hipp. 525 sq. *Ἔρως*, *Ἔρως, ὁ κατ' ὁμμάτων στάζει πόθον*, A. P. V.13.

throb the actual result of excitement: cf. T. L. L. IV. 931.45-50), Merc. 204, Bacch. 1159 (cf. T. L. L. IV.932. 5 sq., 932. 40 sq., 934. 31 sq.). From this idea develop the stereotyped phrases *amat corde* Truc. 177, *cordist* Cist. 109, Ter. Phorm. 800, and the noun *cordolium* (heartache) Cist. 65. *Pectus* is synonymous with *cor*, and about equally common as the seat of the affections, cf. Bacch. 628 *multa mala mi in pectore nunc atque acerba eveniunt*, Epid. 555, Merc. 590, 600, Most. 164, Rud. 221. It is not, however, found in stereotyped phrases, excepting as the seat of reason (cf. *cor* Miles 786, Cist. 509, etc., T. L. L. IV.935.79 sq.) in the phrase *pectus qui sapiat* Bacch. 659, Miles 786. *καρδία* is used frequently as the seat of the affections: Aristoph. Ranae 54 *πόθος τὴν καρδίαν ἐπάταξε*, A. P. V. 235 *καὶ τρομέω κραδίη τε βυθῶ πελεμίζεται οἷστρω*, A. P. V.10 *ἐπ' ἐμὴν λοβολεῖ κραδίην* (*Ἔρως*), Aristaeon. II.5 *πυκνὰ παλλομένης ἐφάπτομαι τῆς καρδίας καὶ δεινῶς ἐκπηδᾷ καὶ φλέγεσθαί μοι δοκεῖ*, A. P. XII.49. Love is responsible not only for the heart throbs but for pallor and emaciation (Hoelzer pp. 48, 55). The unhappy lover languishes and pines away: Ter. Ad. 603, *cor contabescit* Merc. 205, Pseud. 21, cf. *τήκομαι* A. P. V.210 *τήκομαι ὡς κηρὸς παρ πυρὶ κάλλος ὀρών*, *ibid.* V.259, *ἔρωτι κατατετηκῶς* Eubulus 104K. and *τρύχομαι* Aristoph. Pax 989 *οἷ σου τρυχώμεθα ἤδη τρία καὶ δέκα ἔτη* (cf. Blaydes, critical note and commentary ad locum, and compare *κνίζω* (*κέκνισται*) etc., p. 48). For Latin references on pallor, etc., cf. Hoelzer p. 48 and compare A. P. V.242 *ὡς εἶδον Μελίτην ὥχρος μ' ἔλε*, A. P. V.259, Ach. Tat. I.8. *ὡς οὖν ταῦτ' ἤκουσεν ὁ Κλεινίας ὥχριασεν*.

The surge or tide of love is suggested Asin. 158 *quam magis te in altum capessis tam aestus te in portum refert*. Cf. Catull. 68.107. So also *κύμα* A. P. V.235 *ψυχῆς πνιγομένης κύματι κυπριδίω*, A. P. V.190 *κύμα τὸ πικρὸν Ἔρωτος*. Cf. *fluctuat* Merc. 890 *quid si mi animus fluctuat* (Hoelzer p. 50), *aestuo* Catull. 25. 12 *aestues velut . . . . magno deprensa navis in mari*, Varro Men. 204 (T. L. L. I.1113. 77 sq.), Mart. IX.22.11 *aestuēt ut nostro madidus conviva ministro*. The paths of love figure in Trin. 667 *atque ipse Amoris teneo omnis vias*, Persa 1ff. *qui amans egens ingressus est princeps in Amoris vias superavit aerumnis suis aerumnas Herculi*. The idea in the two passages is different; in Persa 1, the thought is the course of trials and tribulations which love imposes on the needy lover; in Trin. 667 *viae=artes*, i. e., the wiles of love; cf. Prop. I.1.17 *in me tardus Amor non ullas cogitat artes, nec meminit notas ut prius ire vias*. Leo compares aptly enough (Pl. F.<sup>2</sup> p. 154) Plato Symposium 203 D, the description of Love as the son of *Πόρος*, hence *πόριμος*, *ἀεὶ τινας πλέκων μηχανάς*; as for his statement



(Gött. Gel. Anz. 1898, 748) "viae amoris aus dem Symposium in die Erotik gekommen wird" cf. the very just criticism of Rothstein, Philologus 59 p. 457 and note 1, where the danger of positing sources on slight resemblances is pointed out.<sup>76</sup>

Comparisons of love and war are equally frequent in both Greek and Latin: Persa 24 saucius factus sum in Veneris proelio, is used of himself by a disheartened lover; cf. A. P. XII.100.4 *ἔτρωσε*. The service of the meretrix is called militia Truc. 230 ubi nil det, pro infrequenti eum mittat militia domum (cf. Lamb., Taub., ad loc.). Cf. Horace Odes 3.26.2 militavi non sine gloria, Persa 231-2 at confidentia illa militia militatur multo magis quam pondere, Caec. 67 Rib., militia Prop. I.6.30. Lovers' quarrels are bellum, and reconciliation pax: Ter. Eun. 52 ubi pati non poteris, quom nemo expetet infecta pace ultro ad eum venies, ibid. 61 (vitia amoris) indutiae bellum pax rursum. Cf. *σπονδαί* Aristaen. II.14 *ὕμᾱς ἐχώριζον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἄσπονδος μάχη καὶ ἀδιάλλακτος ἔρις*, ibid. II.2 *τοίνυν καὶ προσάξω τὸν νέον πλουσίως ἐπικηρυκεύμενον δι' ἐμοῦ τὸ γὰρ πρὸς ἐταίρας κηρύκειον κτλ.*, Lucian Dial. meretr. XII.5 *ἤδη καὶ Πυθιάς μεθ' ἡμῶν ἄξιον γὰρ αὐτὴν παρῆναι ταῖς σπονδαῖς* (libations and truce). Seduction is governed by military tactics: Curc. 56 qui volt cubare pandit saltum saviis (for literal idea cf. Casina 887 inlecebram stupri principio saviium posco, and examples under caput limare p. 43). Cf. *πορθῶ* A. P. V.294 *ναὶ τάχα πορθήσω τείχεα παρθενίης*, ibid. V.58, *ἐξαλαπάξω* V.294 *οὐπὼ δ' ἐξαλάπαξα φίλης πύργωμα κορείης ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἀδερὶτω σφίγγεται ἀμβολίη*. Cf. Truc. 169 sq. amator similit oppidi hostilis. †Quo argumento (st)? †Quam primum expugnari potis (est), tam id optimumst amicae. For another form of comparison cf. *νυκτομαχῶ* Aristaen. I.10 *ὁ δὲ οὖν τῇ παρθένῳ βραχεία νυκτομαχήσας ἐρωτικῶς τό γε λοιπὸν εἰρηναίων ἀπέλαυνεν ἡδονῶν*. So in Latin elegy, arma Prop. I.3.16, bella ibid. III.8.32.

Plautus sometimes employs legal phraseology of the lover who is bound hand and foot. Instead of the simple servus, servio (*δουλεύω*) the lover is said to be addictus: Bacch. 1205 ducite nos quolibet tamquam quidem addictos. Sometimes it is merely that he is under bonds: Bacch. 180 ita me vadatum amore vinctumque attines, Curc. 162 ubi tu's qui me convadatu's Veneriis vadimoniis. This, at least, appears to be a

<sup>76</sup>Greek *δόδος*, *κέλευθος*, *δόλιχος*, are also used figuratively, but with the same definite suggestion found in such phrases as *εἰς τέλος ἔρχεσθαι*, *ἀνύω*, *ἔργον ἔρωτος ἀνῦσαι*. Cf. *δόδος* Ach. Tat. I.9.7 *πῶς ἂν τύχοιμι τῆς ἐρωμένης; οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ τοὺς ὁδοὺς*, Longus, I, 17 *ἀπέδραμε ζητῶν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἔρωτος*, A. P. V.275 *Ὡς δὲ κελεύθου ἡμῖν κυπριδὴς ἡνυσεν ἀσπασίως*, ibid. V.55 *ἡνυσεν ἀκλινέως τὸν κύπριδος δόλιχον*. With these expressions compare Prop. II.33.22 noctibus his vacui ter faciamus iter. The Plautine use of viae = artes appears Prop. I.1.18. Prop. I.8.30 is perhaps midway between the two.

characteristically Roman turn of phrase, though merely a substitute for the familiar *vincula amoris*, as Bacch. 180 (supra) suggests, cf. also Trin. 658 vi veneris vinctus, Ter. And. 561, Hec. 168. On the *vincula amoris* cf. Leo Gött. G. A. 1898 pp. 748-9 and Rothstein Philologus 59 pp. 454-5.

Another common class of figures is taken from the palaestra. Erotic figures from this source are favored in Greek, and occur as frequently as military comparisons in Latin. For example, in the Fotis episode, Apuleius Metam. 2. 17, Lucian (Asinus c. 8 p. 576) uses palaestra figures where Apuleius has figures drawn from warfare; the girl in the *Onos* is appropriately named *Παλαίστρα* and this name turns up elsewhere also (Bechtel Attische Frauennamen p. 124). The prevalence of such comparisons in Greek may be explained by the fact that the wrestling schools were actually notorious as sources of corruption for young boys (cf. Aristoph. Nubes 973 sq., Becker Charikles (Berlin 1877) II.p. 260 sq.), and by the ease with which the various athletic exercises suggested erotic comparisons. It seems probable, then, that the elaborate comparison Bacch. 66 sq. was found in much the same form in the Greek original. In Plautus it stands as follows: Bacch. 66-72 *penetrem me huius modi in palaestram ubi damnis desudascitur? Ubi pro disco damnum capiam, pro cursura dedecus . . . . ubi ego capiam pro machaera turturem, (ubique imponat in manum alius mihi pro cestu cantharum:) pro galea scaphium, pro insigni sit corolla plectilis, pro hasta talos, pro lorica malacum capiam pallium: ubi mi pro equo lectus detur, scortum pro scuto accubet? Palaestra is the key word that suggests the detailed simile. There is some evidence of free handling by the Latin poet. The antitheses pro disco damnum, pro cursura dedecus, containing, as they do, the favorite Latin (and Plautine) combination damnum dedecus, seem to show Plautine originality, partly for the sake of alliteration, in the second members; but for discus and cursura in such comparisons cf. A. P. V.19 *νῦν δὲ καλοῦμαι θηλυμανῆς, καὶ νῦν δίσκος ἐμοὶ κρόταλον*, ibid. V.55 *ἡνυσεν ἀκλινέως τὴν κύπριδος δόλιχον*. Scortum pro scuto (72) is likewise Plautine alliteration. The other pairs show, for the most part, neat contrasts between the nouns opposed to one another, and the implied verbs fit either member; for example *ἐπιβαίνω*, *ἀναβαίνω* (ascendere) is equally applicable to *ἵππος* (equos) or *κλίνη* (lectus). This does not hold good of one pair, i. e., machaera, turturem, and the line has been questioned for this reason. It should be remembered that we are considering a series of contrasts between the accoutrements of the athlete or soldier, and the paraphernalia of the*



reveler; in this series turtur serves as well as the next thing for a representative dainty, cf. Most. 46. Whether it be taken as a live pet (Lamb.) or a part of the menu, there seems to be a particular erotic significance to the dove: cf. Artem. II.20 Φάσσαι δὲ καὶ περιστερὰ γυναικὰς σημαίνουσι. φάσσαι μὲν πάντως πορνικάς. περιστερὰ δὲ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ κοσμίας καὶ οἰκοδεσποίνας, Photius Lex. τρυγῶν τὸ ζῶον· παίζεται δὲ εἰς τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν συνουσίαν, Hesychius τρυγῶν· ἰχθύς θαλάσσιος . . . καὶ ὄρνις καὶ ἡ τῶν γυναικῶν μίξις. καὶ σύντροφος.<sup>77</sup> These passages go to show that the dove, as the bird of Aphrodite, was not without an esoteric significance for the initiate. In the very similar passage Aristoph. Ach. 1118-1142 ΛΑΜ.—παί. παῖ καθελὼν μοι τὸ δόρυ δεῦρ' ἔξω φέρε. ΔΙΚ. παῖ παῖ, σὺ δ' ἀφελὼν δεῦρο τὴν χορδὴν φέρε κτλ. most of the contrasts are as startling as machaera turturem. For comparisons of a more exact type cf. Bacch. 70 pro galea scaphium with Antiph. 109K. τὸ μὲν ἐφίππιον στρώμ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὁ δὲ καλὸς πῖλος κάδος and Aristoph. Thesm. 633, Lysis. 751 with Van Leeuwen's note ad loc. The Bacchides passage need contain nothing more than the surface meanings. For a somewhat similar Latin comparison cf. Ovid Her. III.117 tutius est iacuisse toro, tenuisse puellam—quam manibus clupeos et acutae cuspidis hastam et galeam pressa sustinuisse coma (Leo Plaut. Forsch.<sup>2</sup> p. 55). Figures from the gymnasium are also current: cf. the verb exercere Amph. 288 haec nox scita est exercendo scorto conducto (male), Bacch. 429 saliendo sese exercebant magis quam scorto aut saviis, cf. Eup. 158K. οὐκ' οἴκαδ' ἐλθὼν τὴν σεαυτοῦ γυμνάσεις δάμαρτα, and Gymnasium as the name of a meretrix Plaut. Cist. (Bechtel Die attische Frauen-namen p. 124). The wrestling figure is a common one in Greek: Aristoph. Pax 896 ἐπὶ γῆς παλαίειν, Ach. 275 μέσην λαβόντ' ἄρα ντα καταβαλόντα κτλ. Ach. Tat. V.3 παλαίων πάλην Ἀφροδισίαν, Longus III.19 Χλόη δὲ συμπαλαίους σοὶ ταύτην τὴν πάλην, A. P. XII.206 παίδων

<sup>77</sup>Buecheler A. L. L. II.116 cites these three passages (the Artemidorus passages had already been compared by Gruter) and adds (from Gruter?) Isidore glosses p. 697. 14 Vulc. turturilla ita dictus locus in quo corruptelae fiebant, quod ibi turturi opera daretur i. panem. Adopting the emendation penem, B. concludes that turtur here = penis (following Douza, Gruter). As additional support B., following Gruter, cites Sen. ep. 96 where turturillae is an epithet for weaklings. B. refers also to the anonymous glossarium eroticum, Paris, 1826. I am inclined to think that Gruter, who was in possession of practically all of Buecheler's material, and some additional passages (cf. Taub. on Bacch. 68) was correct in his doubt "hoc scio, non inepte molliorem sensum tueri Douzam: nisi tam pudentis videretur iste Pistoclerus verecundiae, ut tale quid usurpare metuerit. Certe tota narratione nihil promittit spurci, nihil ambigui." The Greek contributes nothing toward the proposed meaning for turtur (τρυγῶν) and the Latin parallels are not convincing.

δ' ἡ πάλῃ ἔσθ' ἐτέρα, *ibid.* XII.90. Cf. Apuleius II.17 his et huius modi conluctationibus. For παλαίστρα in this sense cf. A. P. V.259 κ' ἐν μὲν παννυχίῃσιν ὁμιλήσασα παλαίστραις, Theocr. Id. VII.125, Antiph. 332K. Similarly Mart. X.55.4 idem post opus et suas palaestras. On Phormio 484 Eccum ab sua palaestra exit foras Dziatzko-Hauler compare Bacch. 66 and Mart. X.55.4. To these we may add Mart. IV.55 aut libidinosae Ledaeas Lacedaemonos palaestras. In all these cases the word is, apparently, somewhat more drastic than in the Phormio passage.

The ingenuity of the Comic poets was largely occupied with inventing new comparisons for the meretrix and her rapacity. The home of the courtesan is a mire or morass: Bacch. 384 ut eum ex lutulento caeno propere hinc eliciat foras; in Bacch. 368 her gates are the gates of an upper world Hell and those who enter there all hope abandon of being thrifty, pandite atque aperite propere ianuam hanc Orci. The meretrix herself has the prescience of a bird of carrion in anticipating spoils: Truc. 337 quasi volturii triduo prius praedivinant quo die essuri sient, cf. Epicr. 28K. πεπονθέναι δὲ ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀετοῖς· οὗτοι γὰρ ὅταν ὦσιν νέοι ἐκ τῶν ὀρών πρόβατ' ἐσθίουσι καὶ λαγῶς μετέωρ' ἀναρπάζοντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἰσχύος κτλ. Again, she is a leech, or, less probably, a vampire, Bacch. 372 apage istas a me sorores quae hominum sorbent sanguinem, Curc. 152 quae mihi misero amanti ebit sanguinem, but compare Epid. 188 me convortam in hirudinem atque eorum exsugebo sanguinem; for the leech idea cf. Theocr. Id. II.55.6 αἰαὶ ἔρως ἀνηρέ, τί μεν μέλαν ἐκ χροῦς αἷμα ἐμφὺς ὡς λιμνᾶτις ἅπαν ἐκ βδέλλα πέπωκας; cf. also A. P. V.151 αἵματος ἀνδρῶν σίφωνες. The destructive effect of the courtesan is compared to that of a tempest: Most. 162 haec illa'st tempestas mea mihi quae modestiam omnem detexit, tectus qua fui; she is a torrent: Bacch. 85 rapidus fluvius est hic: non hac temere transiri potest, and presents to her greed are like water running into the sea: Truc. 565 nam hoc in mare abit misereque perit sine bona omni gratia, Asin. 135 nam mare haud est mare: vos mare acerrimum: nam in mari repperi, hic elavi bonis. In the same vein are comparisons to an eddy or whirlpool: cf. Hoelzer p. 72, Leo Plaut. Forsch.<sup>2</sup> p. 150, and note 3, Bacch. 470-1 meretricem indigne deperit . . . atque acerrume aestuosam: absorbet ubi quemque attigit, of doors of meretrix Truc. 350, cf. Alciph. I.6.3, Anaxilas 22K. ἡ δὲ Φρόνη τὴν χάρυβδιν οὐχὶ πόρρω που ποιεῖ τὸν δὲ ναύκληρον λαβοῦσα καταπέπωκ' αὐτῷ σκάφει. The Anaxilas fragment includes also comparisons of the courtesan to Scylla, Sphinx, and Chimaera; cf. the Horatian "triformi Chimaera" and Bechtel,



Attische Frauennamen p. 83. Most of the other similes used in Plautus of the meretrix could probably have been paralleled in Greek Comedy, if the remains were more extensive.

There is more prose than poetry about those figures in which the meretrix is likened to a custom house officer, portitor, or a tax collector, publicanus (τελώνης). The former comparison is suggested Asin. 159 tam aestus te in portum refert. †Ego pol istum portitorem<sup>78</sup> privabo portorio, and developed ibid. 241 portitorum simillimae sunt ianuae lenoniae: si adfers, tum patent: si non est quod des, aedes non patent. For the general idea compare Aristophon 3K. αἱ τῶν ἐταιρῶν γὰρ διοπετεῖς οἰκίαι γεγόνασιν ἄβατοι τοῖς ἔχουσι μηδὲ ἔν. The Plautine simile may perhaps be fixed as Greek by comparison with Eupolis 48K. ἐλλιμένιον δοῦναι πρὶν εἰσβῆναι σε δέι. Kock suggests that this passage has to do with admission to a lupanar, but fails to compare it directly with the Asinaria passage.

The extended simile Truc. 141 sq. tu te Veneris publicum aut Amoris alia lege habere posse postulas, etc., can hardly be claimed as definitely Latin, or Greek, on existing evidence, though I am inclined to believe it Plautine in the main. The possible Greek background for such words as publicanus (τελώνης), publicum (τελωνία) is obvious, but hardly contributes anything definite. On the other hand line 144 Nam advorsum legem meam ob meam scripturam pecudem cepit, seems to require the definite Latin background supplied by Varro R.R.II.1.16 ad publicanum profitentur, ne, si inscriptum pecus paverint, lege censoria committant. On the basis of this passage Ussing construes, "Contra legem, ait Diniarchus, Phronesium meum pecus cepit quasi non scriptum esset aut quasi scriptura non soluta esset"; this seems far more likely than "peregrinum pecus in id quod mihi adscriptum est, recepit" (Taub.). I take the phrase cepit pecudem to mean, she has confiscated my property, "closed me out," cf. dedistis otium (138), negotium abstulistis (139). For res pecuaria (147), aratiuncula (148), aratio (149) cf. Cic. Tull. 19 deinde iste pater familias Asiaticus beatus, novus arator et idem pecuarius, Verr. II.188 qui sit iste Verrucius, mercator . . . an arator an pecuarius, Deiot. 27 agricola et pecuarius. With reference to Veneris publicum habere (141-2), habuit publicum (143), I do not find that δημόσιον = τελωνία; the Latin phrase corpus publicare should be

<sup>78</sup>Cf. Nonius p. 24, 13 portitores dicuntur telonarii qui portum obsidentes omnia sciscitentur, ut ex eo vectigal accipiant.

quoted in connection with publicum habere.<sup>79</sup> Apparently the only things to suggest Greek influence on this passage are the punning on aro (aratiuncula) and the comparison between girl and boy love (150 sq.), which was rather a Greek than a Latin commonplace, at least in Plautus' time.

There is clearer evidence of a Greek background for the somewhat obscure lines beginning Mercator 518 possin tu, sei ussus venerit, subtemen tenue nere. The phrase subtemen tenue is the Greek στήμων ἐξεσμένος (ἰσχνός, ἀραιός) cf. Blümner Technologie<sup>2</sup> I.p. 128. For the full phrase subtemen tenue nere cf. Hom. Batrach. 181 (Blümner I.142 n. 2). πέπλον . . . δν ἐξύφηνα καμουῖσα ἐκ ῥοδάνης λεπτῆς καὶ στήμονα λεπτὸν ἔνησα. For the opposite, i. e., the filum (subtemen) crassum, the Greek is στήμων πυκνός, στερεός (Blümner loc. cit.), cf. Merc. 519 scio te uberius posse nere. Uberius nere is apparently a translation of πυκνότερον νείν, (νήθιν). The difficulty of the lines consists in the fact that the poets seem to be developing some flagitious jest, as is made almost certain by 523 operam accusari non sinam meam. None, however, of the words involved, in Greek or Latin, save only operam (523) seems to be used elsewhere in erotic meanings, and it may be that the whole passage simply leads up to ovis (524): ovem tibi millam dabo, natam annos sexaginta. Ovis as a simile for the senex amator (Leo Plaut. Forsch.<sup>2</sup> p. 156) occurs of the two old men Bacch. 1121 sq., and, in this passage, of the old dotard who is to be sheared or exploited, cf. the Greek use of πρόβατα for "good for nothings" (Lamb.). The expression ovis peculiaris (Merc. 524) is used sentimentally of the one true lover of the meretrix, Asin. 540-1 etiam opilio qui pascit, mater, alienas ovis aliquam habet peculiarem qui spem soletur suam. The lover is referred to as a dog, Poen. 1234 sq. etiam me meae latrant canes (cf. T. L. L. III.256.16), but not in compliment (T. L. L. III.258.21 sq.).

Figures from hunting, fowling, and fishing, as parallel to the arts of the meretrix, are very frequent, and are developed at unusual length. Hoelzer (p. 73) has noted most of the passages for Comedy, and I need add only a few more or less significant Greek parallels to what he has collected. For piscatura cf. A. P. V.67 κάλλος ἄνευ χαρίτων τέρπει μόνον, οὐ κατέχει δὲ ὥς ἄτερ ἀγκίστρου νηχόμενον δέλεαρ (esca), Nicophon 4K., Crat. 216K., where Kock refers to As. 221, Aristaen. I.17 συχνότερον οὖν τὸ δέλεαρ αὐτῇ προσακτέον, κἂν αὐθις τὸ ἀγκίστρον καταπῇ πάλιν ἀσπαλ-

<sup>79</sup>In this relation note Hesychius s. Δημιάσι πύλαις: ὁ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος τὸ γυναικεῖον μύριον δημόσιον ἔφη.



ιεύσω. Cf. Truc. 34 sq., Asin. 178. For piscatus="catch," of the lover ensnared, cf. Bacch. 102 and Aristaen. I.7 *έτέρα πολλῶ βελτίων τῆς προτέρας ἐμπέπτωκεν ἄγρα*. For venatura Miles 990 *viden tu illam oculis venaturam facere*, cf. A. P. V.231 *πάντοθεν ἀγρεύεις τλήμονας ἡθέους*, Aristaen. II.2 *μη τρόπος ἀπειθῆς ἀποσοβήσῃ δν εὖ μάλα τεθήρακεν ἡ μορφή*, A. P. V.193, XII.99. For aucupium (viscus, retia, etc.) Asin. 215 sq., Bacch. 50, 1158 (on rete cf. also Leo Plaut. Forsch.<sup>2</sup> p. 149), and Truc. 37 (fish nets), Epid. 216, and Amphis 23K. (discussed p. 45), A. P. V.100 *θηρευτήν ὄμμασιν ἰξὸν ἔχων*, *ibid.* V.56 *(γλῆναι) σπλάγχνων ἡμετέρων δίκτυα καὶ παγίδες*, *ibid.* V.96. To be mentioned in the same connection are the Latin verbs capio and capto: Epid. 215, Ter. Hec. 73, particularly the use of captus (amore) Andria 82, cf. A. P. XII.99 *Ἡγρεύθην ὑπ' Ἔρωτος*.

## IV

I have yet to consider a few terms that have to do with the sentimental side of the sermo amatorius in Comedy, and are, incidentally, of considerable importance in the interpretation of numerous passages in Elegy. It has already been remarked that what little sentiment appears in Comedy is necessarily associated with the meretricious relationship. The Comic poets were obliged to look, for this sort of interest, to those more lasting attachments between the meretrix and a single lover which differed from the ordinary *ὁμιλῖαι* (consuetudines) in permanence, and in the presence of real affection on both sides. However rare such ideal relationships may have been in fact, they are fairly numerous in Plautus and Terence, and in Greek Comedy as represented by Lucian, Alciphron, and Aristaenetus. The best examples in Plautus are Selenium and Alcesimarchus (Cist.), Philematium and Philolaches (Most.). Selenium expresses her passion for her lover Cist. 76 sq. *misera maceror quom illum unum mi exoptavi, quicum aetatem degerem*. Philematium is warned against a similar attachment Most. 195-6 *stulta's plane quae illum tibi aeternum putes fore amicum et benevolentem*. Moneo ego te: te ille deseret aetate et satietate.<sup>80</sup> In such a relation the girl was rated as pudica if she remained faithful to one lover: Cist. 88 *nec pudicitiam imminuit meam mihi alius quisquam*, Miles 508-9 *quod concubinam erilem insimulare ausus es probri pudicam*, cf. *σώφρων* Men. Epitrep. 520. Beside the ties of intimacy and affection (consuetudo), (cf. p. 17), there were oaths to bind the lovers together: Men. Samia 279 *ὄρκος πόθος χρόνος συνήθει' οἷς ἐδουλούμην ἐγώ*, Ter. And. 277 sq. *adeon me ignavom putas, adeon porro ingratum aut inhumanum aut ferum, ut neque me consuetudo neque pudor commoveat ut servem fidem?* Such an oath-bound compact of fealty between lovers was commonly termed a *ὄρκος φιλίας*. It is to be distinguished from the formal contract, *syngraphus*<sup>81</sup> (Asin. 746), by which a courtesan was legally bound to one lover for a prescribed space of time. The Latin expression for the *ὄρκος φιλίας* was *foedus*.

<sup>80</sup>For satietas (amoris) cf. *taedium* in Elegy; *κόρος* in Greek, A. P. V.77 *εἰ τοίην χάριν εἶχε γυνὴ μετὰ Κύπριδος εὐνήν, οὐκ ἂν τοι κόρον ἔσχεν ἀνὴρ ἀλόχοισιν ὁμιλῶν. πᾶσαι γὰρ μετὰ Κύπριν ἀτερπέες εἰσὶ γυναῖκες*, A. P. V.255 *οὐ κόρον εἶχεν ἔρωτος ἀφειδέος*, Aristaen. II.1 *τῶν ἀφροδισίων . . . τὸν κόρον*, Aristoph. Pl. 190 *πλησμονὴ ἔρωτος*.

<sup>81</sup>Cf. Reitzenstein Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Heidelberg, 1912, Zur Sprache der lateinischen Erotik p. 9 sq.



Though Comedy sheds but little light on the exact meaning of foedus in the sermo amatorius, examples are frequent in Catullus and in the elegiac poets. Starting with Leo's theory<sup>82</sup> that foedus in Elegy was used with special reference to the above mentioned contracts, the word has been much discussed. Reitzenstein, in the work cited, makes it tolerably clear that foedus, as used by Catullus and the elegiac poets, has nothing whatever to do with the syngraphs of Asin. 746, or similar contracts. His own conception of the foedus amicitiae as, in origin at least, a compact of friendship in the Roman sense, and consequently something "peculiar to Roman life and Roman feeling" is ingeniously supported by a deft comparison of numerous passages from Roman Comedy, Catullus, Cicero, and the elegiac poets. In these examples, the terms amicitia, inimicitia, culpa, benevolus, inimicus, officium, etc., are carefully analyzed and compared, with a view to determining their exact significance in the best Latin usage, and their precise relation to one another; the results are then applied to those passages in Roman erotic poetry where the foedus amicitiae is mentioned. The main objection to the conclusions reached is that they appear to rest upon a too rigid interpretation of the words considered. It is true that amicitia is rarely used as the exact equivalent of amor, but there is no doubt that it is sometimes so used (cf. Pseud. 1262), and consequently no obstacle to such an interpretation where it may seem otherwise indicated. Amicus is regularly a lover in Comedy, and the complement of amica: Most. 195, 247, Pseud. 196, 218, 228, Stich. 679, as *ἑταῖρος* in Greek: Eccl. 913 *αἰαῖ τί ποτε πείσομαι; οὐχ ἥκει μούταῖρος* and elsewhere. If the word amicus is used by Diniarchus, Truc. 171, in its proper sense (*longe aliter est amicus and amator*) it must be remembered that even *ἑταῖρα* is sometimes correspondingly used in Greek: cf. Antiphanes 212 *ἥθός τι χρυσοῦν πρὸς ἀρετὴν κεκτημένης, ὧντως ἑταῖρας· αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι τοῖνομα βλάπτουσι τοῖς τρόποις γὰρ ὧντως ὧν καλόν*. The terms benevolus, benevolentia, inimicitia, etc., to which Reitzenstein would give a hard and fast interpretation, are also frequent in Comedy in erotic contexts with no apparent indication of the idea that he attributes to them. Neither in Comedy nor in Catullus can any technical force be fastened upon the word iniuria or the phrase iniuriam facere, that is not amply covered by the verb *ἀδικῶ* as used in the Greek sermo amatorius. Just as iniuria and contumelia are, for most purposes, synonymous, so *ἀδίκημα* and *ὑβρις* show barely a shade of difference in general use: cf. A. P. XII.188 *Εἴ σε φιλῶν ἀδικῶ καὶ τοῦτο δοκεῖς ὑβριν εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν κόλασιν καὶ σὺ*

<sup>82</sup>Plautinische Forschungen<sup>2</sup> p. 139, n. 2.

*φίλει με λαβών*. 'Αδίκημα may be a trivial offence, A. P. XII.118 *ἐφίλησα τὴν Φλίσην, εἰ τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἀδίκημ' ἀδικῶ*, or it may be actual unfaithfulness in the technical sense, Xen. Eph. II.4 *οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε πεισθείην ἐκὼν Ἄνθειαν ἀδικῆσαι*.

Reitzenstein (op. cit. p. 26) quotes Catullus 72. 7 *quod amantem iniuria talis cogit amare magis sed bene velle minus*. With reference to iniuria he says: "Weil es (iniuria) die formelhafte Beziehung der Verletzung der fides in der amicitia ist, wird durch sie das innerste Wesen derselben, das bene velle aufgehoben." Are we really justified in seeing more in this passage than the familiar paradox *odi et amo*? Cf. Ter. Eunuch. 70 sq. *nunc ego et illam scelestam esse et me miserum sentio: et taedet et amore ardeo, et prudens sciens vivos vidensque pereo nec quid agam scio*. The lover's grievance, in this case "exclutit," leads his slave to remark: "in amore haec omnia insunt vitia: iniuriae, etc." The state of mind provoked by these iniuriae is recognized by the courtesan Thais as inimicitia (174): *potius quam te inimicum, etc.*; yet the facts in this case absolutely preclude those over subtle distinctions which may be grafted on the same words by one who considers too curiously their use in Catullus.

The lover's oath or *ὄρκος* is a commonplace in the Greek sermo amatorius, as Reitzenstein recognizes p. 15, where he quotes a significant passage from Dioscorides, A. P. V.52 *ὄρκον κοινὸν Ἐρωτ' ἀνεθήκαμεν, ὄρκος δὲ πιστὴν Ἀρσινόης θέμενος Σωσιπάτρῳ φιλίην*. He fails only to remark that the high sentiment of Catullus, and his vehement protestations, may be easily paralleled from the same sources. With regard to the word foedus itself, Comedy supplies the link between the Greek and Catullus: cf. Cist. 460 *qui frangant foedera*; the meaning of foedus in this passage is explained by Cist. 472, *similest ius iurandum amantum quasi ius confusium*. The terms of such a contract, or the *leges amatoriae*, may be illustrated from Longus II.39 *ὁμοσον μὴ καταλιπεῖν Χλόην ἔστ' ἂν πιστὴ σοι μένη ἄδικον δ' εἰς σέ καὶ τὰς Νύμφας γενομένην καὶ φεύγει καὶ μίσει*. Reitzenstein quotes (p.28) a passage from Catullus which seems to him to illustrate conclusively his friendship argument. The passage in question is Catullus 76:

*si qua recordanti bene facta priora voluptas  
est homini, cum se cogitat esse pium,  
nec sanctum violasse fidem, nec foedere in ullo  
divum ad fallendos numine abusum homines.  
multa parata manent in longa aetate, Catulle,  
ex hoc ingrato gaudia amore tibi.*



nam quaecumque homines bene cuiquam aut dicere possunt  
aut facere, haec a te dictaque factaque sunt;  
omnia quae ingratae perierunt credita menti.  
quare cur te iam amplius excrucies?  
quin tu animo offirmas atque istinc teque reducis  
et dis invitis desinis esse miser?

The whole tone and sentiment of this Catullan passage is amply illustrated by Aristaen. II.9, where the parties concerned are a young man and a girl of the courtesan class, περιφρονούσα τηλικούτον ὄρκον παρέβης ἀλλὰ τοῦμόν μέρος ἀνυπεύθυνος μηδὲ συνθήκας ἔγνωσ ἐνωμότους φυλάττειν . . . ἢ τῆς σῆς διαπεπτωκέναι φιλίας . . . ἔρρωσω κἂν ἀδικῆς. With μηδὲ συνθήκας ἔγνωσ ἐνωμότους φυλάττειν compare nec sanctum violasse fidem (foedere in ullo); with ὀρκίοις θεοῖς compare divum numine abusum. The iniuria in this case is suggested in the words κἂν ἀδικῆς. The same idea appears in Horace Carm. II.8 ulla si iuris tibi peierati poena, Barine, nocuisset umquam, etc.

It is quite evident that a standing relationship *ὁμιλία*, or consuetudo with one of the courtesan class was frequently invested with an aura of sentiment, which made it fit subject for romantic literary treatment. Such relationships were frequently strengthened with oaths (*ὄρκοι*, foedera) in which the gods were called upon to witness the mutual obligations entailed. A certain dignity was thereby imparted to the relationship, which could appropriately be called a *φιλία* (amicitia). A significant passage in this connection is Apuleius Met. V.28, where such ties are mentioned, with marriages, as under the special patronage of Venus, non nuptiae coniugales, non amicitiae sociales, non liberum societates-squalentium foederum insuave fastidium. The woman was *σώφρων* (pudica) so long as she remained faithful to her lover. While, before, any slight or insult was merely *ὑβρις* (contumelia, iniuria) or *ἀτιμία* (Ach. Tat. V.26, Alciph. I.27.1, I.6.2), in this relationship a similar action became an *ἀδίκημα* (iniuria) and *ἀδικεῖν* (iniuriam facere) is the verb applied. The injured party might look for justice to the gods originally invoked, Luc. Dial. meretr. XII.2 ἔστι τις θεὸς ἡ Ἀδράστεια καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀρᾷ. The relationship had much in common with marriage, and, upon the death of a refractory parent, not uncommonly led up to it. So, while foedus in Latin Elegy should not be related to formal contracts for purely mercenary considerations, it may fairly be considered an echo of this somewhat more elevated relationship. There is undoubtedly an intensity of feeling in Catullus which is peculiar to him, but I see no need to look outside the Greek sermo amatorius to interpret his forms of expression.

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